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FROM THE BOOKS  
IN THE HOMESTEAD OF

**Sarah Orne Jewett**

AT SOUTH BERWICK, MAINE



BEQUEATHED BY

**Theodore Jewett Eastman**

A.B. 1901 - M.D. 1905

1931





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TEMPLE  
CLASSICS**



**Edited by  
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*Pierre de Brach.*

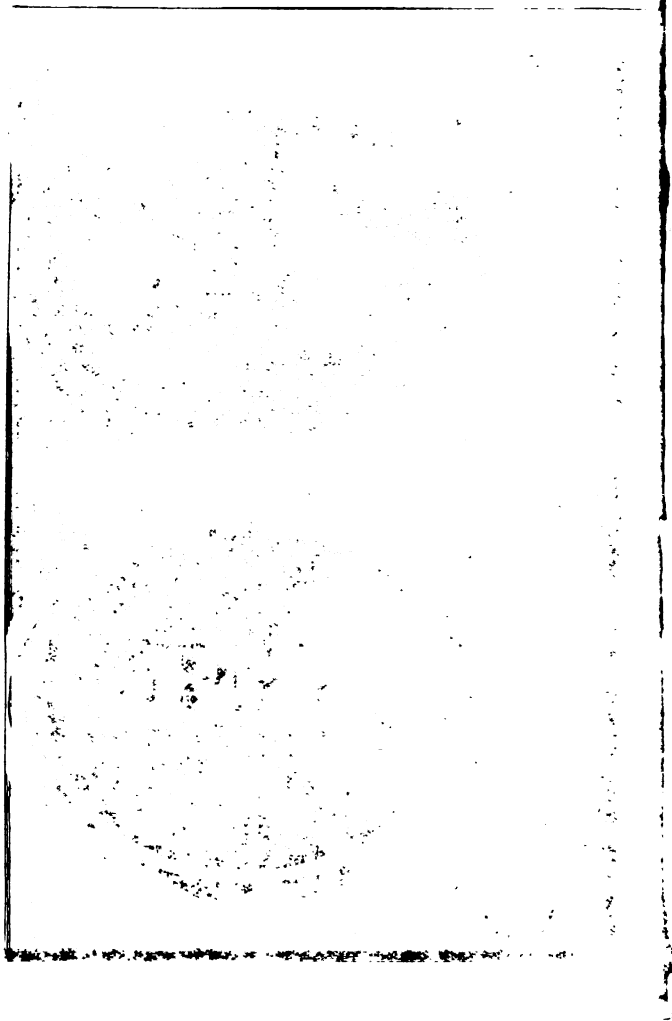


*Mlle de Gournay.*



The **ESSAYES**  
OF MICHAEL  
LORD OF  
**MONTAIGNE**  
TRANSLATED  
BY JOHN  
**FLORIO**  
The **Second BOOKE**  
**VOLUME 2.**

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THE  
ESSAYS OF  
*MICHAEL* LORD OF  
MONTAIGNE

*The second Booke*

CHAP. XII—(*continued*)

An Apologie of *Raymond Sebond*

*EPICURUS* said of the lawes, that the worst **Necessity** were so necessary unto us, that without **of laws** them, men would enter-devoure one another. And *Plato* verifieth, that *without lawes we should live like beastes*. Our spirit is a vagabond, a dangerous, and fond-hardy implement; It is very hard to joyne order and measure to it. In my time, such as have any rare excellency above others, or extraordinary vivacity, we see them almost all so lavish and unbridled in licence of opinions and manners, as it may be counted a wonder to find any one settled and sociable. There is great reason why the spirit of man should be so strictly embarred. In his study, as in all things else, he must have his steps numbred



But few people may be trusted with liberty and ordered. The limits of his pursuite must be cut out by art. He is bridled and fettered with, and by religions, lawes, customes, knowledge, precepts, paines and recompences, both mortall and immortall; yet we see him, by meanes of his volubility and dissolution escape all these bonds. It is a vaine body, that hath no way about him to be seized on, or cut off: a diverse and deformed body, on which neither knot nor hold may be fastened. Verily there are few soules, so orderly, so constant, and so well borne, as may be trusted with their owne conduct, and may with moderation, and without rashnes, saile in the liberty of their judgments beyond common opinions. It is more expedient to give some body the charge and tuition of them. *The spirit is an outrageous glaive, yea even to his owne possessor, except he have the grace, very orderly and discreetly to arme himselfe therewith.* And there is no beast, to whom one may more justly apply a blinding bord, to keepe her sight in, and force her looke to her footing, and keepe from straying here and there, without the tracke which use and lawes trace her out. Therefore shall it be better for you to close and bound your selves in the accustomed path; howsoever it be, then to take your flight to this unbridled licence. But if any one of these new doctors shall undertake, to play the wise or ingenious before you, at the charge of his and your health: to rid you out of this dangerous plague, which daily more and more spreads it selfe in your Courts, this preservative will in

any extreame necessity be a let, that the contagion of this venome, shall neither offend you nor your assistance. The liberty then, and the jollity of their ancient spirits brought forth many different Sects of opinions, in Philosophy and humane Sciences: every one undertaking to judge and chuse, so he might raise a faction. But now that men walke all one way: *Qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis addicti et consecrati sunt, ut etiam, quæ non probant, cogantur defendere* (Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii.): *Who are addicted and consecrated to certaine set and fore-decreed opinions, so as they are enforced to maintaine those things which they prove or approve not*: And that we receive Artes by civill authority and appointment: So that Schooles have but one patterne, alike circumscribed discipline and institution; no man regardeth more what coines weigh and are worth; but every man in his turne receiveth them according to the value, that common approbation and succession allotteth them: Men dispute no longer of the alloy, but of the use. So are all things spent and vented alike. Physike is received as Geometry: and jugling tricks, enchantments, bonds, the commerce of deceased spirits, prognostications, domifications, yea even this ridiculous, wit and wealth-consuming persuite of the Philosophers stone, all is employed and uttered without contradiction. It sufficeth to know, that *Mars* his place lodgeth in the middle of the hande triangle; that of *Venus* in the Thumme; and *Mercuries* in the little finger: and when the

**Astro-  
logy, and  
the Philo-  
sopher's  
stone**

'It is  
hard to  
give our  
spirit any  
limits'

table-line cutteth the teachers rising, it is a signe of cruelty: When it faileth under the middle finger, and that the naturall Median-line makes an angle with the vitall, under the same side, it is a signe of a miserable death: And when a womans naturall line is open, and closes not at angle with the vitall, it evidently denotes that she will not be very chast. I call your selfe to wnesse if with this Science onely, a man may not passe with reputation and favour among all companies. *Theophrastus* was wont to say, that mans knowledge, directed by the sense, might judge of the causes of things, unto a certain measure, but being come to the extreame and first causes, it must necessarily stay, and be blunted or abated; either by reason of it's weakness, or of the things difficulty. It is an indifferent and pleasing kind of opinion, to thinke, that our sufficiency may bring us to the knowledge of some things, and hath certaine measures of power, beyond which it's temerity to employ it. This opinion is plausible and brought in by way of composition: but it is hard to give our spirit any limits, being very curious and greedy, and not tied to stay rather at a thousand, then at fifty [paces]. Having found by experience, that if one had mist to attaine unto some one thing, another hath come unto it, and that which one age never knew, the age succeeding hath found out: and that Sciences and Arts are not cast in a mold, but rather by little and little formed and shaped by often handling and polishing them over: even as beares fashion their yong whelps by often lick-

ing them : what my strength cannot discover, I cease not to sound and try : and in handling and kneading this new matter and with removing and chafing it, I open some [facility] for him that shall follow me, that with more ease he may enjoy the same, and make it more facile, more supple and more pliable :

Know-  
ledge  
grows  
from  
more  
to more

—*ut hymettia sole*

*Cera remollescit, tractataque pollice, multas  
Vertitur in facies, ipsoque fit utilis usu.*

—OVID. *Metam.* x. 284.

As the best Bees wax melteth by the Sun,  
And handling, into many formes doth run,  
And is made aptly fit,  
For use, by using it.

As much will the second do for the third, which is a cause that difficulty doth not make me despaire, much lesse my unability : for it is but mine owne. Man is as well capable of all things, as of some. And if (as *Theophrastus* saith) he avow the ignorance of the first causes and beginnings, let him hardly quit all the rest of his knowledge. If his foundation faile him, his discourse is overthrowne. *The dispute hath no other scope, and to enquire no other end but the principles* : If this end stay not his course, he casteth himselfe into an infinite irresolution. *Non potest aliud alio magis minusque comprehendi, quoniam omnium rerum una est definitio comprehendendi.* One thing can neither more nor lesse be comprehended then another, since of all things there is one definition of comprehending. Now it is likely, that if the soule knew any thing, shee first knew her

Self-know-ledge the first to be sought  
 selfe : and if she knew any without and besides  
 her selfe, it must be her vaile and body before  
 any thing else. If even at this day the Gods of  
 Physicke are scene to wrangle about our Ana-  
 tomic,

*Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo,*  
 —OVID. *Trist.* i. *El.* ii. 5.

*Apollo stood for Troy,*  
*Vulcan Troy to déstroy,*

when shall we expect that they will be agreed ?  
 We are neerer, unto our selves, then is white-  
 nesse unto snow, or weight unto a stone. *If  
 man know not himselfe, how can hee know his  
 functions and forces ?* It is not by fortune that  
 some true notice doth not lodge with us, but by  
 hazard. And forasmuch as by the same way,  
 fashion and conduct, errors are received into  
 our soule, she hath not wherewithall to distin-  
 guish them, nor whereby to chuse the truth from  
 falshood. The Academikes received some in-  
 clination of judgment, and found it over raw, to  
 say, it was no more likely snow should be white  
 then blacke, and that wee should be no more  
 assured of the moving of a stone, which goeth  
 from our hand, then of that of the eighth Spheare.  
 And to avoid this difficultie and strangenesse,  
 which in truth cannot but hardly lodge in our  
 imagination, howbeit they establish, that we were  
 no way capable of knowledge, and that truth is  
 engulfed in the deepest Abysses, where mans  
 sight can no way enter ; yet avowed they some  
 things to be more likely and possible then others,

and received this faculty in their judgement, that they might rather incline to one apparence then to another. They allowed her this propension, interdicting her all resolution. The Pyrrhonians advise is more hardy, and therewithall more likely. For this Academicall inclination, and this propension rather to one then another proposition, what else is it, then a reacknowledging of some apparant truth, in this than in that? If our understanding be capable of the forme, of the lineaments, of the behaviour and face of truth; it might as well see it all compleat; as but halfe, growing and imperfect. For this apparence of verisimilitude, which makes them rather take the left then the right hand, doe you augment it; this one ounce of likelihood, which turnes the ballance, doe you multiply it, by a hundred, nay by a thousand ounces; it will in the end come to passe, that the ballance will absolutely resolve and conclude one choice and perfect truth. But how doe they suffer themselves to be made tractable by liklihood, if they know not truth? *How know they the semblance of that, whereof they understand not the essence?* Either we are able to judge absolutely, or absolutely we cannot. If our intellectuall and sensible faculties are without ground or footing, if they but hull up and downe and drive with the wind, for nothing suffer we our judgment to be caried away to any part of their operation, what apparence soever it seemeth to present us with. And the surest and most happy situation of our understanding should be that, where without any tottering or agitation it might

The  
balance  
of proba-  
bilities

Each judgment apprehends differently maintaine it selfe settled, upright and inflexible. *Inter visa, vera, aut falsa, ad animi assensum, nihil interest* (Cic. Acad. Q. iv.). *There is no difference betwixt true and false visions, concerning the mindes assent.* That things lodge not in us in their proper forme and essence, and make not their entrance into us, of their owne power and authority, we see it most evidently. For if it were so, we would receive them all alike: wine should be such in a sicke mans mouth, as in a healthy mans. He whose fingers are chopt through cold, and stiffe or benumbed with frost, should find the same hardnesse in the wood or iron he might handle, which another doth. Then strange subjects yeeld unto our mercy, and lodge with us according to our pleasure. Now if on our part we receive any thing without alteration, if mans holdfasts were capable and sufficiently powerfull, by our proper meanes to seize on truth, those meanes being common to all; this truth would successively remove it selfe from one to another. And of so many things as are in the world, at least one should be found, that by an universall consent should be beleevd of all. But that no proposition is seene, which is not controversied and debated amongst us, or that may not be, declareth plainly, that our judgment doth not absolutely and clearly seize on that which it seizeth: for my judgment cannot make my fellowes judgment to receive the same: which is a signe, that I have seized upon it by some other meane then by a naturall power in me or other men. Leave we apart this infinite confusion of opinions, which

is seene amongst Philosophers themselves, and this universall and perpetuall disputation, in and concerning the knowledge of things.

There is no agreement or consistency

For it is most truly presupposed, that men (I meane the wisest, the best borne, yea and the most sufficient) do never agree; no not so much that heaven is over our heads: For they who doubt of all, doe also doubt of this: and such as affirme, that we cannot conceive any thing, say, we have not conceivd whether heaven be over our heads: which two opinions are in number (without any comparison) the most forcible. Besides this diversity and infinite division, by reason of the trouble which our owne judgement layeth upon our selves, and the uncertainty which every man findes in himselfe, it may manifestly be perceived, that this situation is very uncertaine and unstaide. How diversly judge we of things? How often change we our phantasies? What I hold and beleefe this day, I beleefe and hold with all my beleefe: all my implements, springs and motions, embrace and claspe this opinion, and to the utmost of their power warrant the same: I could not possibly embrace any verity, nor with more assurance keepe it, then I doe this. I am wholly and absolutely given to it: but hath it not beene my fortune, not once, but a hundred, nay a thousand times, my daily, to have embraced some other thing, with the very same instruments and condition, which upon better advise I have afterward judged false? *A man should at the least become wise, at his owne cost, and learne by others harmes.* If under this colour I have often



**Fallibility of man** found my selfe deceived, if my Touch-stone be commonly found false and my ballance un-even and unjust; What assurance may I more take of it at this time, then at others? Is it not folly in me, to suffer my selfe so often to be beguiled and couzened by one guide? Neverthelesse, let fortune remove us five hundred times from our place, let her doe nothing but uncessantly empty and fill, as in a vessell, other and other opinions in our mind, the present and last is alwaies supposed certaine and infallible. For this must a man leave goods, honour, life, state, health and all :

—*posterior res illa reperta  
Perdit; et immutat sensus ad pristina quæque.*

—LUCR. v. 1424.

The latter thing destroies all found before;  
And alters sense at all things lik'd of yore.

Whatsoever is told us, and what ever we learne, we should ever remember, it is man, who delivereth, and man that receiveth: It is a mortall hand, that presents it, and a mortall hand, that receives it. Onely things which come to us from heaven, have right and authority of perswasion, and markes of truth: Which we neither see with our eyes, nor receive by our meanes: this sacred and great image would be of no force in so wretched a Mansion, except God prepare it to that use and purpose, unlesse God by his particular grace and supernaturall favor, reforme and strengthen the same. Our fraile and defective condition ought at least

make us demean our selves more moderately, and more circumspectly in our changes. We should remember, that whatsoever we receive in our understanding, we often receive false things, and that it is by the same instruments, which many times contradict and deceive themselves. And no marvell if they contradict themselves, being so easie to encline, and upon very slight occasions subject to waver and turne. Certaine it is, that our apprehension, our judgement, and our soules faculties in generall, doe suffer according to the bodies motions and alterations, which are continuall. Have we not our spirits more vigilant, our memorie more ready, and our discourses more lively in time of health, then in sicknesse? Doth not joy and blithnesse make us receive the subjects, that present themselves unto our soule, with another kind of countenance, then lowring vexation, and drooping melancholy doth? Doe you imagine, that *Catullus* or *Sapboes* verses, delight and please an old covetous Chuff-penny wretch, as they do a lusty and vigorous yong-man? *Gleomenes* the sonne of *Anaxandridas* being sick, his friends reproved him, saying, he had new strange humors, and unusuall phantasies: It is not unlikely (answered he) for, I am not the man I was wont to be in the time of health: But being other, so are my fantasies and my humors. In the rabble case-canvassing of our plea-courts this by-word, *Gaudeat de bona fortuna, Let him joy in his good fortune*, is much in use, and is spoken of criminall offenders, who happen to

The  
soul's  
faculties  
often  
depend  
upon the  
body

Some judges influenced by matters of the moment meete with Judges in some milde temper, or well-pleased mood. For it is most certaine that in times of condemnation, the Judges doome or sentence is sometimes perceived to be more sharpe, mercilesse and forward, and at other times more tractable, facile, and enclined to shadow or excuse an offence, according as he is well or ill pleased in mind. A man that commeth out of his house troubled with the paine of the gout, vexed with jealousy, or angry that his servant hath robbed him, and whose mind is overcome with griefe, and plunged with vexation, and distracted with anger, there is not question to be made but his judgement is at that instant much distempred, and much transported that way. *That venerable Senate of the Areopagites, was wont to judge and sentence by night, for feare the sight of the suters might corrupt justice.* The ayre it selfe, and the clearenes of the firmament, doth forebode us some change and alteration of weather, as saith that Greeke verse in *Cicero*,

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse  
Jupiter auctifera lustravit lampade terras.—CIC. ex incert.*

Such are mens mindes, as with increasefull light  
Our father *Jove* survaies the world in sight.

It is not onely fevers, drinckes and great accidents, that over-whelme our judgement: The least things in the world wil turne it topsieturvie. And although we feele it not, it is not to bee doubted, if a continuall ague may in the end suppressse our mind, a tertian will also (accord-

ing to her measure and proportion) breed some alteration in it. If an Apoplexie doth altogether stupifie, and extinguish the sight of our understanding, it is not to be doubted but a cold and rhueme will likewise dazle the same. And by consequence, hardly shall a man in all his life find one houre, wherein our judgement may alwaies be found in his right byase, our body being subject to so many continuall alterations, and stuft with so divers sorts of ginses and motions, that, giving credit to Physitions, it is very hard to find one in perfect plight, and that doth not alwaies mistake his marke and shute wide. As for the rest, this disease is not so easily discovered, except, it be altogether extream and remedlesse; forasmuch as reason marcheth ever crooked, halting and broken-hipt; and with falshood as with truth; And therefore it is very hard to discover her mistaking, and disorder. I alwaies call reason, that apparance or shew of discourses, which every man deviseth or forgeth in himselfe: That reason, of whose condition, there may be a hundred, one contrary to another, about one selfe same subject: It is an instrument of lead and Wax, stretching, pliable, and that may be fitted to all byases, and squared to all measures: There remaines nothing but the skill and sufficiency to know how to turne and winde the same. How well soever a Judge meaneth and what good mind so ever he beareth, if diligent care be not given unto him (to which few ammuse themselves) his inclination unto freind-

Pliability  
of reason

Mon-ship, unto kindred, unto beauty, and unto re-  
 taigne's venge, and not onely matters of so weighty  
 confes- consequence, but this innated and casuall in-  
 sion of stinct, which makes us to favour one thing  
 weak- more then another, and encline to one man  
 ness, more then to another, and which without any  
 leave of reason, giveth us the choise, in two  
 like subjects, or some shadow of like vanity,  
 may insensibly insinuate in his judgment the  
 commendation and applause, or disfavour and  
 disallowance of a cause, and give the ballance a  
 twitch. I that nearest prie into my selfe and  
 who have mine eyes uncessantly fixt upon me, as  
 one that hath not much else to doe else where,

—*quis sub Arcto*

*Rex gelidæ metuat oræ,*

*Quid Tyridatem terreat, unice*

*Securus,*

—*Hor. i. Od. xxvi. 3.*

Onely secure, who in cold coast

Under the North-pole rules the rost,

And there is fear'd ; or what would fright,

And *Tyridates* put to flight,

dare very hardly report the vanity and weak-  
 nesse I feele in my selfe. My foot is so stag-  
 gering and unstable, and I finde it so ready to  
 trip, and so easie to stumble ; and my sight is  
 so dimme and uncertaine, that fasting I finde  
 my selfe other than full fed : If my health  
 applaud me, or but the calmenesse of one faire  
 day smile upon me, then am I a lusty gallant ;  
 but if a corne wring my toe, then am I pouting,  
 unpleasant and hard to be pleased. One same  
 pace of a horse is sometimes hard, and some-

times easie unto me; and one same way, one time short, another time long and wearisome; and one same forme, now more, now lesse agreeable and pleasing to me: Sometimes I am apt to doe any thing; and other times fit to doe nothing: What now is pleasing to me, within a while after will be painful. There are a thousand indiscreet and casuall agitations in me. Either a melancholy humour possesseth me, or a cholericke passion swaieth me, which having shaken off, sometimes frowardnesse and peevisnesse hath predominancy, and other times gladnesse and blithnesse overrule me. If I chance to take a booke in hand, I shall in some passages perceive some excellent graces, and which ever wound me to the soule with delight; but let me lay it by, and read him another time; let me turne and tosse him as I list, let me apply and manage him as I will, I shall finde it an unknowne and shapelesse masse. Even in my writings, I shall not at all times finde the tracke, or ayre of my first imaginations; I wot not my selfe what I would have said, and shall vexe and fret my selfe in correcting and giving a new sense to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost the former, which happily was better. I do but come and goe; my judgement doth not alwaies goe forward, but is ever floting, and wandering,

—*velut minuta magno*

*Deprensa navis in mari vesaniente vento.*

—CATUL. *Lyr. Epig.* xxii. 12.

Much like a pettie skiffe, that's taken short  
In a grand Sea, when winds doe make mad sport.

Causes  
that de-  
termine  
belief

Many times (as commonly it is my hap to doe) having for exercise and sport-sake undertaken to maintaine an opinion contrarie to mine, my minde applying and turning it selfe that way, doth so tie me unto it, as I finde no more the reason of my former conceit, and so I leave it. Where I encline, there I entertaine my selfe, how soever it be, and am caried away by mine owne weight. Every man could neer-hand say as much of himselfe, would he but looke into himselfe as I doe. Preachers know, that the emotion, which surpriseth them, whilst they are in their earnest speech, doth animate them towards believe, and that being angrie we more violently give our selves to defend our proposition, emprint it in our selves, and embrace the same with more vehemencie and approbation; then we did, being in our temperate and reposed sense. You relate simply your case unto a Lawyer; he answers faltring and doubtfully unto it, whereby you perceive it is indifferent unto him to defend either this or that side, all is one to him: Have you paid him well, have you given him a good baite or fee, to make him earnestly apprehend it, beginnes he to be enteressed in the matter, is his will moved, or his minde enflamed? Then will his reason be moved, and his knowledge enflamed with all. See then an apparant and undoubted truth presents it selfe to his understanding, wherein he discovers a new light, and beleeves it in good sooth, and so perswades himselfe. Shall I tell you? I wot not whether the heate proceeding

of spight and obstinacie, against the impression Value of  
and violence of a magistrate, and of danger: or passion  
the interest of reputation, have induced some  
man, to mainetaine, even in the fiery flames the  
opinion, for which amongst his friends, and at  
libertie, he would never have beene moved, nor  
have ventred his fingers end. The motions and  
fits which our soule receiveth by corporall pas-  
sions, doe greatly prevaile in her, but more  
her owne; with which it is so fully possest, as  
happily it may be maintained, she hath no other  
way, or motion, then by the blast of her windes,  
and that without their agitation, she should re-  
maine without action, as a ship at Sea, which  
the winds have utterly forsaken. And he who  
should maintaine that, following the Peripatetike  
faction, should offer us no great wrong, since it  
is knowne, that the greatest number of the soules  
actions, proceede and have neede of this im-  
pulsion of passion; valor (say they) cannot be  
perfected without the assistance of choler.

*Semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore.*

—CIC. *Tus. Qu.* iv.

*Ajax* every valor had,

Most then, when he was most mad.

Nor doth any man run violently enough  
upon the wicked, or his enemies, except he be  
thoroughly angrie; and they are of opinion, that  
an Advocate or Counseller at the barre, to have  
the cause goe on his side, and to have Justice at  
the Judges hands, doth first endeavor to provoke  
him to anger. Longing-desires moved *Themis-*



A phleg-  
matic  
virtue im-  
possible

*toeles*, and urged *Demosthenes*, and have provoked Philosophers, to long travels, to tedious watchings, and to lingring peregrinations: and leade us to honours, to doctrine, and to health; all profitable respects. And this demissenes of the soule, in suffering molestation and tediousnes, serveth to no other purpose, but to breed repentance, and cause penitence in our consciences; and for our punishment to feele the scourge of God, and the rod of politicke correction. Compassion serveth as a sting unto clemencie, and wisdom to preserve and governe our selves, is by our owne feare rouzed up; and how many noble actions, by ambition, how many by presumption? *To conclude, no eminent or glorious vertue, can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation.* May not this be one of the reasons, which moved the Epicurians, to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires: Forsomuch as the very effects of his goodnes, cannot exercise themselves towards us, without disturbing his rest, by meanes of the passions, which are as motives and solicitations, directing the soule to vertuous actions? Or have they thought otherwise and taken them as tempests, which shamfully lead astray the soule from hir rest and tranquillitie? *Ut maris tranquillitas intelligitur, nullâ, ne minimâ quidem, aurâ fluctus commovente: Sic animi quietus et placatus status cernitur, quum perturbatio nulla est, quâ moveri queat* (Cic. *ib.* v.). *As we conceive the Seas calmenesse, when not so much as the least pirling wind doth stirre the waves, so is a*

*peaceable reposed state of the mind then scene, when there is no perturbation, whereby it may be moved.* **Paths to the cabinet of the Gods**

What differences of sense and reason, what contrarietie of imaginations, doth the diversitie of our passions present unto us? What assurance may we then take of so unconstant and wavering a thing, subject by its owne condition to the power of trouble, never marching but a forced and borrowed pace? If our judgement be in the hands of sickenes itselfe, and of perturbation; if by rashnesse and folly it be retained to receive the impression of things, what assurance may we expect at his hands? Dares not Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and neerest approaching to divinity, when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde? We amend our selves by the privation of reason, and by her drooping. The two naturall waies, to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to foresee the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe. This is very pleasing to be considered. By the dislocation that passions bring unto our reason, we become vertuous; by the extirpation which either fury or the image of death bringeth us, we become Prophets and Divines. I never beleevved it more willingly. It is a meere divine inspiration, that sacred truth hath inspired in a Philosophicall spirit, which against his proposition exacteth from him; that the quiet state of our soule, the best-settled estate, yea the healthfullest that Philosophy can acquire unto it, is not the best estate. *Our vigilancie is more drowsie, then sleepe it selfe: Our wisdome lesse wise, then*

**Mon-** *folly ; our dreames of more worth then our dis-*  
**taigne's** *courses.* The worst place we can take, is in our  
**disposi-** *selves.* But thinks it not, that we have the  
**tion a** *foresight to marke, that the voice, which the*  
**placid** *spirit uttreth, when he is gone from man, so*  
**one** *cleare sighted, so great, and so perfect, and whilst*  
*he is in man, so earthly, so ignorant, and so*  
*overclouded, is a voice proceeding from the*  
*spirit, which is in earthly, ignorant, and over-*  
*clouded man ; and therefore a trustles and not*  
*to be-beleaved voice ? I have no great experi-*  
*ence in these violent agitations, being of a soft*  
*and dull complexion ; the greatest part of which,*  
*without giving it leasure to acknowledge her*  
*selfe, doe sodainely surprise our soule. But that*  
*passion, which in yong mens harts is saied, to*  
*be produced by idlenes, although it march but*  
*leasurely, and with a measured progresse, doth*  
*evidently present to those, that have assaid to*  
*oppose themselves against her endeavour, the*  
*power of the conversion and alteration, which*  
*our judgement suffereth. I have some times*  
*enterprised to arme my selfe with a resolution*  
*to abide, resist, and suppress the same. For, I*  
*am so farre from being in their ranke, that call*  
*and allure vices, that unlesse they entertaine me,*  
*I scarcely follow them. I felt it, mauger my*  
*resistance, to breed, to growe, and to augment ;*  
*and in the end being in perfect health, and cleare*  
*sighted, to seize upon and possesse me ; in such*  
*sort, that, as in drunkennes, the image of things*  
*began to appeare unto me, otherwise then it*  
*was wont : I saw the advantages of the subject*

I sought after, evidently to swell and growe greater, and much to encrease by the winde of my imagination; and the difficulties of my enterprise to become more easie and plaine; and my discourse and conscience to shrink and draw-backe. But that fire being evaporated all on a sodaine, as by the flashing of a lightning, my soule to reassume an other sight, another state, and other judgement. The difficultie in my retreat seemed great and invincible, and the very same things, of another taste and shew, than the fervency of desire had presented them unto me. And which more truely, *Pyrrho* cannot tell. We are never without some infirmity. Fevers have their heat, and their cold: from the effects of a burning passion, we fall into the effects of a chilling passion. So much as I had cast my selfe forward, so much do I draw my selfe backe.

*Qualis ubi alterno procurrrens gurgite pontus,  
Nunc ruit ad terras, scopulisque superjacet undam,  
Spumeus, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam,  
Nunc rapidus retro, atque aestu revoluta resorbens  
Saxa, fugit, littusque vado labente relinquit.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* xi. 508.

As th' Ocean flowing, ebbing in due course,  
To land now rushes, foaming throw's his source  
On rocks, therewith bedewes the utmost sand,  
Now swift return's, the stones rould backe from  
strand  
By tide resuck's, foord failing, leaves the land.

Now by the knowledge of my volubilitie, I have by accident engendred some constancy of opinions in my selfe; yea have not so much altered my first and naturall ones. For, what

Montaigne  
content  
with the  
ancient  
faith

apparance soever there be in novelty, I do not easily change, for feare I should lose by the bargain: And since I am not capable to chuse, I take the choise from others; and keepe my selfe in the seate, that God hath placed me in. Else could I hardly keepe my selfe from continuall rowling. Thus have I by the grace of God preserved my selfe whole (without agitation or trouble of conscience) in the ancient believe of our religion, in the middest of so many sects and divisions, which our age hath brought forth. The writings of the ancient fathers (I meane the good, the solide, and the serious) doe tempt, and in a manner remove me which way they list. Him that I heare seemeth ever the most forcible. I finde them everie one in his turne to have reason, although they contrary one another. That facility which good witts have to prove any thing they please, likely; and that there is nothing so strange, but they will undertake to set so good a glosse on it, as it shall easily deceive a simplicity like unto mine, doth manifestly shew the weaknesse of their prooffe. The heavens and the planets have moved these three thousand yeares, and all the world beleaved as much, untill *Cleanthes* the *Samian*, or else (according to *Theophrastus*) *Nicetas* the *Syracusian* tooke upon him to maintaine, it was the earth that moved, by the oblique circle of the *Zodiake*, turning about her axell tree. And in our daies *Copernicus* hath so well grounded this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all Astrologicall consequences. What shall we reape by it, but

only that wee neede not care, which of the two it be? And who knoweth whether a thousand yeares hence a third opinion will rise, which happily shall overthrow these two præcedent? **One philosophy succeeds another**

*Sic volvenda ætas commutat tempora rerum,  
Quodque fuit pretio, fit nullo denique honore,  
Porro aliud succedit, et è contemptibus exit,  
Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum  
Laudibus, et miro est mortales inter honore.*

—LUCR. v. 1286.

So age to be past-over alter's times of things :  
What earst was most esteem'd,  
At last nought-worth is deem'd :  
Another then succeeds, and from contempt up-  
springs,  
Is daily more desir'd, flowreth as found but then  
With praise and wondrous honor amongst mortall  
men.

So when any new doctrine is represented unto us, we have great cause to suspect it, and to consider, how, before it was invented, the contrary unto it was in credit; and as that hath beene reversed by this latter, a third invention may peradventure succeed in after-ages, which in like sort shall front the second. Before the principles, which *Aristotle* found out, were in credit, other principles contented mans reason, as his doe now content us. What learning have these men, what particular priviledge, that the course of our invention should rely only upon them, and that the possession of our beleife shall for ever hereafter belong to them? They are no more exempted from being rejected, then were their fore-fathers. If any man urge me

Para- with a new Argument, it is in me to imagine,  
 celsus that if I cannot answere it, another can. For,  
*to believe all apparences, which we cannot resolve,*  
*is meere simplicitie.* It would then follow, that  
 all the common sort (whereof we are all part)  
 should have his beliefe turning and winding like  
 a weather-cocke: For, his soule being soft, and  
 without resistance, should uncessantly be enforced  
 to receive new and admit other impressions: the  
 latter ever defacing the precedents trace. He  
 that perceiveth himselfe weake, ought to answer,  
 according to law termes, that he will conferre  
 with his learned counsel, or else referre himselfe  
 to the wisest, from whom he hath had his prentiseship.  
 How long is it since Physicke came first into the World? It is reported that a  
 new start-up fellow, whom they call Paracelsus,  
 changeth and subverteth all the order of ancient,  
 and so long time received rules, and maintaineth  
 that untill this day it hath only served to kill  
 people. I thinke he will easily verify it. But  
 I suppose it were no great wisdom to hazard  
 my life upon the triall of his new-fangled ex-  
 perience. *We must not beleve all men,* saith the  
 precept, *since every man may say all things.* It is  
 not long since, that one of these professors of  
 novelties, and Physicall reformations told me,  
 that all our forefathers had notoriously abused  
 themselves in the nature and motions of the  
 winds, which, if I should listen unto him, he  
 would manifestly make me perceive. After I  
 had with some patience given attendance to his  
 Arguments, which were indeed full of likely-

hood, I demanded of him, whether they that sailed according to *Theophrastus* his Lawes, went westward, when they bent their course eastward? Or whether they sailed sideling, or backward? It is fortune, answered he; but so it is, they tooke their marke amisse: To whom I then replied, that I had rather follow the effects, then his reason. They are things that often shock together: and it hath beene told mee, that in Geometry (which supposeth to have gained the high point of certainty amongst all sciences) there are found unavoidable Demonstrations, and which subvert the truth of all experience: As *James Peletier* tolde me in mine owne house, that he had found out two lines, bending their course one towards another, as if they would meet and joyne together; nevertheless he affirmed, that even unto infinity, they could never come to touch one another. And the Pyrrhonians use their Arguments, and Reason, but to destroy the apparance of experience: And it is a wonder to see how far the suppleness of our reason, hath in this designe followed them, to resist the evidence of effects: For, they affirme, that we move not, that we speake not, that there is no weight, nor heat, with the same force of arguing, that wee averre the most likeliest things. *Ptolomey*, who was an excellent man, had established the bounds of the world; All ancient Philosophers have thought they had a perfect measure thereof, except it were certaine scattered Ilands, which might escape their knowledge: It had beene to Pyrrhonize a thousand



The discovery of America yeares agoe, had any man gone about to make a question of the art of Cosmography: and the opinions that have beene received therof, of all men in generall: It had beene flat heresie to avouch, that there were Antipodes. See how in our age an infinite greatnesse of firme land hath beene discovered, not an Iland onely, nor one particular country, but a part in greatnesse very neere equall unto that which we knew. Our moderne Geographers cease not to affirme, that now all is found, and all is discovered;

*Nam quod adest præsto, placet, et pollere videtur,*  
—*Ib.* 1422.

For, what is present here,  
Seemes strong, is held most deare.

The question is now, if *Ptolomey* was hertofore deceived in the grounds of his reason, whether it were not folly in me, to trust what these late fellowes say of it, and whether it be not more likely, that this huge body, which we terme the World, is another manner of thing, than we judge it. *Plato* saith, that it often changeth his countenance, that the Heaven, the Starres, and the Sunne do somtimes re-enverse the motion we perceive in them, changing the East into the West. The *Ægyptian* priests told *Herodotus*, that since their first King, which was eleaven thousand and odde yeares (when they made him see the pictures of all their former Kings, drawne to the life in statues) the Sun had changed his course foure times: That the sea and the earth doe enterchangeably change one into another; that the worlds birth is undetermined: The

like said *Aristotle* and *Cicero*. And some one amongst us averreth, that it is altogether eternal, [mortal,] and new reviving againe, by many vicissitudes, calling *Salomon* and *Esay* to witness: to avoid these oppositions, that God hath sometimes been a Creator without a creature: that he hath beene idle; that he hath unsaid his idleness, by setting his hand to this worke, and that by consequence he is subject unto change. In the most famous Schooles of *Greece*, the World is reputed a God, framed by another greater and mightier God, and is composed of a body and a soule, which abideth in his centre, spreading it selfe by Musicall numbers unto his circumference, divine, thrise-happy, very great, most wise and eternall. In it are other Gods, as the Sea, the Earth, and [Planets,] which mutually entertaine one another with an harmonious and perpetuall agitation and celestiall dance; sometime meeting, other times farre-sundering themselves; now hiding, then shewing themselves; and changing place, now forward, now backward. *Heraclitus* firmly maintained, that the World was composed of fire, and by the Destinies order, it should one day burst forth into flames, and be so consumed into cinders, and another day it should be new borne againe. And *Apuleius* of men saith; *sigillatim mortales; cunctim perpetui* (L. APUL. de deo Socrat.): severally mortall, altogether everlasting. *Alexander* writ unto his mother the narration of an *Ægyptian* Priest, drawne from out their monuments, witnessing the antiquitie

Ideas of  
the school  
of Plato

**Ancient records** of that Nation, infinite; and comprehending the birth and progresse of [other] countries to the life. *Cicero* and *Diodorus* said in their daies, that the Chaldeans kept a register of foure hundred thousand and odde yeares. *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, and others, that *Zoroastes* lived sixe thousand yeares before *Plato*. And *Plato* saith, that those of the citty of *Sais*, have memories in writing of eight thousand yeares, and that the towne of *Athens*, was built a thousand yeares before the citty of *Sais*. *Epicurus*, that at one same time, all things that are, looke how we see them, they are all alike, and in the same fashion, in divers other Worlds, which he would have spoken more confidently, had he seene the similitudes and correspondencies of this new-found world of the West Indiaes, with ours, both present and past, by so many strange examples. Truly, when I consider what hath followed our learning by the course of this terrestriall policie, I have divers times wondered at my selfe, to see in so great a distance of times and places, the sympathy or jumping of so great a number of popular and wilde opinions, and of extravagant customes and beliefes, and which by no meanes seeme to hold with our naturall discourse. Mans spirit is a wonderfull worker of miracles. But this relation hath yet a kind of I wot not what more Heteroclite: which is found both in names, and in a thousand other things. For there were found Nations, which (as far as we know) had never heard of us, where circumcision was held in request; where great states and common

wealths were maintained onely by women, and no men: Where our fasts and Lent was represented, adding therunto the abstinence from women; where our crosses were severall waies in great esteeme; In some places they adorned and honored their sepulchres with them, and elsewhere, especially that of Saint *Andrew*, they employed to shield themselves from nightly visions, and to lay them upon childrens couches, as good against enchantments and witch-crafts: In another place, they found one made of wood, of an exceeding height, worshipped for the God of raine: which was thrust very deepe into the ground: There was found a very expresse and lively image of our Penitentiaries: the use of Miters, the Priestes single life; the Art of Divination by the entrailles of sacrificed beasts; the abstinence from all sorts of flesh and fish, for their food; the order amongst Priests in saying of their divine service, to use, a not vulgar, but a particular tongue; and this erroneous and fond conceipt, that the first God was expelled his throne by a younger brother of his: That they were at first created with all commodities, which afterward by reason of their sinnes were abridged them: That their territory hath beene changed; that their naturall condition hath beene much impaired: That they have heretofore beene drowned by the inundation of Waters come from heaven; that none were saved but a few families, which cast themselves into the cracks or hollow of high Mountaines, which crackes they stopped very close, so that the Waters could not enter

A story  
of the  
flood

Similar  
customs  
and  
beliefs

in, having before shut therein many kinds of beasts: That when they perceived the Raine to cease, and Waters to fall, they first sent out certaine doggs which returned cleane-washt, and wet, they judged that the waters were not yet much false; and that afterward sending out some other, which seeing to returne all muddy and foule, they issued forth of the mountaines, to repeople the world againe, which they found replenished onely with Serpents. There were places found, where they used the perswasion of the day of judgement, so that they grew wondrous wroth and offended with the Spaniards, who in digging and searching of riches in their graves, scattered here and there the bones of their deceased friends; saying, that those dispersed bones could very hardly be reconjoynd together againe. They also found where they used traffick by exchange, and no otherwise; and had Faires and Markets for that purpose: They found dwarfes, and such other deformed creatures, used for the ornament of Princes tables: They found the use of hawking and fowling according to the Nature of their birdes: tyrannicall subsidies, and grievances upon subjects; delicate and pleasant gardens; dancing, tumbling; leaping and jugling, musike of instruments, armories, dicing-houses, tennisse-courts, and casting lottes, or mumne-chaunce, wherein they are often so earnest and moody, that they will play themselves and their liberty: using no other physicke but by charmes: the manner of writing by figures: beleiving in one first man,

universall father of all people : The adoration of **in divers**  
 one God, who heretofore lived man, in perfect **nations**  
 Virginitie, fasting, and pennance, preaching the  
 law of Nature, and the ceremonies of religion ;  
 and who vanished out of the world, without any  
 naturall death : The opinion of Giants ; the use  
 of drunkenesse, with their manner of drinckes  
 and drinking and pledging of healths ; religious  
 ornaments, painted over with bones and dead  
 mens sculs ; surplices, holy-Water, and holy-  
 Water sprinckles, Women and servants, which  
 strivingly present themselves, to be burned or  
 enterred with their deceased husbands or mas-  
 ters : a law that the eldest or first borne child  
 shall succeed and inherit all ; where nothing is  
 reserved for Pannies, but obedience : a custome  
 to the promotion of certaine officers of great  
 authority, and where he that is promoted takes  
 upon him a new name, and quiteth his owne :  
 Where they use to cast lime upon the knees  
 of new borne children, saying unto him ; from  
 dust thou camest and to dust thou shalt returne  
 againe : the Arts of Augures or prediction.  
 These vaine shadowes of our religion, which are  
 seene in some of these examples, witness the  
 dignity and divinity thereof. It hath not onely  
 in some sort insinuated it selfe among all the  
 infidell Nations, on this side by some imitations,  
 but amongst those barbarous Nations beyond, as  
 it were by a common and supernaturall inspira-  
 tion : For amongst them was also found the  
 believe of Purgatory, but after a new forme :  
 For, what we ascribe unto fire, they impute

**Even as  
the fruits  
of nature**

unto cold, and imagine that soules are both purged and punished by the vigor of an extreame coldnesse. This example putteth me in mind of another pleasant diversity: For, as there were some people found, who tooke pleasure to unhood the end of their yard, and to cut off the fore-skinne, after the manner of the Mahometans and Jewes, some there were found, that made so great a conscience to unhood it, that with little strings, they caried their fore-skin very carefully out-stretched and fastened above, for feare that end should see the aire. And of this other diversity also, that as we honour our Kings, and celebrate our Holy-daies with decking and trimming our selves with the best habilliments we have; in some regions there, to shew all disparity and submission to their King, their subjects present themselves unto him in their basest and meanest apparrell; and entring into his pallace, they take some old torne garment and put it over their other attire, to the end all the glory and ornament may shine in their Sovereigne and Maister.

But let us goe on: if Nature enclose within the limits of her ordinary progresse, as all other things, so the beliefes, the judgments and the opinions of men; if they have their revolutions, their seasons, their birth, and their death, even as Cabiches: If heaven doth move, agitate and rowle them at his pleasure, what powerfull and permanent authority doe we ascribe unto them? If by uncontroled experience we palpably touch, that the forme of our being depends of the aire,

of the climate, and of the soile, wherein we are borne, and not onely the hew, the stature, the complexion and the countenance, but also the soules faculties: *Et plaga cali non solum ad robur corporum, sed etiam animorum facit.* The climate helpeth not onely for strength of body, but of minds, saith *Vegetius*: And that the Goddessse foundresse of the Citie of *Athens*, chose a temperature of a country to situate it in, that might make the men wise, as the *Ægyptian* Priests taught *Solon*: *Athenis tenue calum: ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici: crassum Thebis: itaque pingues Thebani, et valentes* (Cic. de Fato): About Athens is a thin aire, whereby those Country-men are esteemed the sharper witted: About Thebes the aire is grosse, and therefore the Thebans were grosse and strong of constitution. In such manner that as fruits and beasts doe spring up diverse and different; So men are borne, either more or lesse warlike, martiall, just, temperate and docile: here subject to wine, there to theft, and whoredome; here inclined to superstition, addicted to mis-believing, here given to liberty, there to servitude; capable of some one art or science; grosse-witted or ingenious: either obedient or rebellious; good or bad, according as the inclination of the place beareth, where they are seated; and being removed from one soile to another (as plants are) they take a new complexion: which was the cause, that *Cirus* would never permit the Persians to leave their barren, rough and craggie Country, for to transport themselves into another, more gentle, more fertile, and more plaine:

so are  
men  
diverse  
and  
different



What assurance have the wisest against error? saying, that fat and delicious countries, make men wanton and effeminate; and fertile soiles yeeld in-fertile spirits. If sometime wee see one art to flourish, or a beliefe, and somtimes another, by some heavenly influence; some ages to produce this or that nature, and so to encline mankind to this or that biase: mens spirits one while flourishing, another while barren, even as fields are seene to be; what become of all those goodly prerogatives, wherewith we still flatter our selves? *Since a wise man may mistake himselfe*; yea many men, and whole nations; and as wee say, mans nature either in one thing or other, hath for many ages together mistaken her selfe. What assurance have we that at any time she leaveth her mistaking, and that she continueth not even at this day, in her error? Me thinkes amongst other testimonies of our imbecilities, this one ought not to be forgotten, that by wishing it selfe, man cannot yet finde out what he wanteth; that not by enjoying or possession, but by imagination and full wishing, we cannot all agree in one, that we most stand in need of, and would best content us. Let our imagination have free liberty to cut out and sew at her pleasure, she cannot so much as desire what is fittest to please and content her.

—*quid enim ratione timemus*

*Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te  
Conatus non pœniteat, votique peracti?*—JUVEN. Sat. x. 4.

By reason what doe we feare, or desire?  
With such dexteritie what doest aspire,  
But thou eftsoues repentest it,  
Though thy attempt and vow doe hit?

That is the reason why *Socrates*, never requested the gods to give him any thing, but what they knew to be good for him. And the publike and private prayer of the Lacedemonians, did meerely impleie, that good and faire things might be granted them, remitting the election and choise of them to the discretion of the highest power.

The  
prayers of  
*Socrates*  
and  
*Midas*

*Conjugium petimus partumque uxoris, at illi  
Notum qui pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor.*

—*Ibid.* 352.

We wish a wife, wifes breeding: we would know,  
What children; shall our wife be sheep or shrow.

And the Christian beseecheth God, that his will may be done, least he should fall into that inconvenience, which Poets faine of *King Midas*: who requested of the Gods, that whatsoever he toucht, might be converted into gold: his praier were heard, his wine was gold, his bread gold, the feathers of his bed, his shirt, and his garments were turned into gold, so that he found himselfe overwhelmed in the injoying of his desire, and being enrich't with an intolerable commoditie, he must now unpray his prayers:

*Attonitus novitate mali, divesque miserque,  
Effugere optat opes, et quæ modo voverat, odit.*

—*OVID. Met.* xi. 128.

Wretched and rich, amaz'd at so strange ill,  
His riches he would flie, hates his owne will.

Let me speake of my selfe; being yet very yong, I besought fortune above all things, that she would make me a knight of the order of *Saint Michael*, which in those daies was very

In la sua  
volontade  
e nostra  
pace

rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French Nobilitie aymed at: she very kindly granted my request; I had it; In lieu of raising and advancing me from my place for the attaining of it, she hath much more graciously entreated me, she hath debased and depressed it, even unto my shoulders and under. *Cleobis and Biton, Trophonius and Agamedes*, the two first having besought the Goddesse, the two latter their God, of some recompence worthy their pietie, received death for a reward: So much are heavenly opinions different from ours, concerning what we have need of. God might grant us riches, honours, long life and health, but many times to our owne hurt: For, *whatsoever is pleasing to us, is not alwaies healthfull for us*; If in lieu of former health, he send us death, or some worse sicknesse: *Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt* (*Psalm xxiii. 4*): *Thy rod and thy staffe hath comforted me*. He doth it by the reasons of his providence, which more certainly considereth and regardeth what is meet for us, then we our selves can doe, and we ought to take it in good part, as from a most wise and thrice-friendly-hand.

—*si consilium vis,*

*Permites ipsis expendere numinibus, quid*

*Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris:*

*Charior est illis homo quam sibi.*—*JUVEN. Sat. x. 346.*

If you will counsell have, give the Gods leave  
To weigh, what is most meet we should receive,  
And what for our estate most profit were:  
To them, then to himselfe man is more deare.

For, to crave honours and charges of them, is to request them to cast you in some battle, or play at hazard, or some such thing, whereof the event is unknowen to you, and the fruit uncertaine. There is no combate amongst Philosophers so violent and sharpe, as that which ariseth upon the question of mans chiefe felicitie: from which (according to *Varroes* calculation) arose two hundred and foure score Sects. *Qui autem de summo bono dissentit, de tota Philosophiæ ratione disputat. But he that disagrees about the chieffest felicitie, calls in question the whole course of Philosophie.*

In what consists man's chief felicity?

*Tres mihi convivæ propè dissentire videntur,  
 Poscentes vario multùm diversa palato.  
 Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod jubet alter:  
 Quod petis, id sanè est invisum ac idumque duobus.*  
 —Hor. ii. *Epist.* ii. 61.

Three guests of mine doe seeme almost at ods to fall,  
 Whilest they with divers taste for divers things  
 doe call:  
 What should I give? What not? You will not,  
 what he will:  
 What you would, to them twaine is hatefull, sowre  
 and ill.

Nature should thus answer their contestations, and debates. Some say, our felicitie consisteth, and is in Vertue: Others in voluptuousnesse: Others in yeelding unto Nature: Some others in learning: others in feeling no manner of paine or sorrow: Others for a man never to suffer himselfe to be caried away by

The Pyrrhonian ideal apparances: and to this opinion seemeth this other of ancient *Pithagoras* to incline,

*Nil admirari, propè res est una, Numici,  
Solâque, quæ possit facere et servare beatum.*

—i. *Epist.* vi. 1.

Sir, nothing to admire, is th' only thing,  
That may keepe happy, and to happy bring.

which is the end and scope of the Pyrrhonian Sect. *Aristotle* ascribeth unto magnanimitie, to admire and wonder at nothing. And *Archesilaus* said, that sufferance, and an upright and inflexible state of judgement, were true felicities; whereas consents and applications, were vices and evils. True it is, that where he establisheth it for a certaine Axiome, he started from Pyrrhonisme. When the Pyrrhonians say, that *ataraxy* is the chiefe felicitie, which is the immobilitie of judgement, their meaning is not to speake it affirmatively, but the very wavering of their mind, which makes them to shun down-falls, and to shrowd themselves under the shelter of calmenesse, presents this phantasie unto them, and makes them refuse another. Oh how much doe I desire, that whilst I live, either some other learned men, or *Justus Lipsius*, the most sufficient and learned man now living; of a most polished and judicious wit, true Cosin-germane to my *Turnebus*, had both will, health and leasure enough, sincerely and exactly, according to their divisions and formes, to collect into one volume or register, as much as by us might be seene, the opinions of ancient Philo-

sophy, concerning the subject of our being and customes, their controversies, the credit, and partaking of factions and sides, the application of the Authors and Sectators lives, to their precepts, in memorable and exemplarie accidents. O what a worthy and profitable labor would it be! Besides, if it be from our selves, that we draw the regiment of our customes, into what a bottomles confusion doe we cast our selves? For, what our reason perswades us to be most likly for it, is generally for every man to obey the lawes of his country, as is the advise of *Socrates*, inspired (saith he) by a divine perswasion. And what else meaneth she thereby, but only that our devoire or duety hath no other rule, but casuall? *Truth ought to have a like and universall visage throughout the world.* Law and justice, if man knew any, that had a body and true essence, he would not fasten it to the condition of this or that countries customes. It is not according to the Persians or Indians fantazie, that vertue should take her forme. Nothing is more subject unto a continuall agitation, then the lawes. I have since I was borne, seene those of our neighbours the English-men changed and rechanged three or foure times, not only in politike subjects, which is that some will dispense of constancy, but in the most important subject, that possibly can be, that is to say, in religion; whereof I am so much the more both grieved and ashamed, because it is a nation, with which my countriemen have heretofore had so inward and familiar acquaintance,

Universal  
Truth

**National religion** that even to this day, there remaine in my house some ancient monuments of our former aliance. Nay I have seene amongst our selves some things become lawfull, which erst were deemed capitall: and we that hold some others, are likewise in possibilitie, according to the uncertainty of warring fortune, one day or other, to be offenders against the Majestie both of God and man, if our justice chance to fall under the mercy of [injustice]; and in the space of few yeares possession, taking a contrary essence. How could that ancient God more evidently accuse, in humane knowledge, the ignorance of divine essence, and teach men that their religion was but a peece of their owne invention, fit to combine their societie, then in declaring (as he did) to those which sought the instruction of it, by his sacred Tripes, that the true worshipping of God, was that, which he found to be observed by the custome of the place, where he lived? Oh God, what bond, or duetie is it, that we owe not to our Sovereigne Creators benignitie, in that he hath beene pleased to cleare and enfranchise our beliefe from those vagabonding and arbitrary devotions, and fixt it upon the eternall Base of his holy word? What will Philosophie then say to us in this necessity? that we follow the lawes of our country, that is to say, this waveing sea of a peoples or of a Princes opinions, which shall paint me forth justice with as many colours, and reforme the same into as many visages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them. I cannot

have my judgement so flexible. What goodnesse is that, which but yesterday I saw in credit and esteeme, and to morrow, to have lost all reputation, and that the crossing of a River, is made a crime? What truth is that, which these Mountaines bound, and is a lie in the World beyond them? But they are pleasant, when to allow the Laws some certaintie, they say, that there be some firme, perpetuall and immoveable, which they call naturall, and by the condition of their proper essence, are imprinted in man-kind: of which some make three in number, some foure, some more, some lesse: an evident token, that it is a marke as doubtfull as the rest. Now are they so unfortunate (for, how can I terme that but misfortune, that of so infinite a number of lawes, there is not so much as one to be found, which the fortune or temeritie of chance hath graunted to be universally received, and by the consent of unanimitie of all Nations to be admitted?) they are (I say) so miserable, that of these three or foure choise-selected lawes, there is not one alone, that is not impugned or disallowed, not by one nation, but by many. Now is the generalitie of approbation, the onely likely ensigne, by which they may argue some lawes to naturall: For, what nature had indeed ordained us, that should we doubtlesse follow with one common consent; and not one onely nation, but every man in particular, should have a feeling of the force and violence, which he should urge him with, that would incite him to contrarie and

Natural  
religion



Differing  
customs  
and resist that law. Let them all (for examples sake) shew me but one of this condition. *Protagoras* and *Ariston* gave the justice of the lawes no other essence, but the authoritie and opinion of the law-giver, and that excepted, both Good and Honest lost their qualities, and remained but vaine and idle names, of indifferent things. *Thrasymachus* in *Plato*, thinks there is no other right, but the commoditie of the superiour. There is nothing wherein the world differeth so much, as in customes and lawes. Some things are here accompted abominable, which in another place are esteemed commendable: as in *Lacedemonia*, the slight and subtlety in stealing. Mariages in proximity of blood are amongst us forbidden as capitall, elsewhere they are allowed and esteemed;

—*gentes esse feruntur,*  
*In quibus et nato genitrix, et nata parenti*  
*Jungitur, et pietas geminato crescit amore.*

—OVID. *Metam.* x. 331.

There are some people, where the mother weddeth  
Her sonne, the daughter her owne father beddeth,  
And so by doubling love, their kindnesse spreddeth.

The murthering of children and of parents; the communication with women; traffick of robbing and stealing; free licence to all manner of sensuality: to conclude, there is nothing so extreame and horrible, but is found to be received and allowed by the custome of some nation. It is credible that there be naturall lawes; as may be seene in other creatures, but in us they are lost:

this goodly humane reason engrafting it selfe among all men, to sway and command, confounding and topsi-turving the visage of all things, according to her inconstant vanitie and vaine inconstancy. *Nilil itaque amplius nostrum est, quod nostrum dico, artis est. Therefore nothing more is ours: all that I call ours, belongs to Art.* Subjects have divers lustres, and severall considerations, whence the diversity of opinions is chiefly engendred. One nation vieweth a subject with one visage, and thereon it staies; an other with an other. Nothing can be imagined so horrible, as for one to eate and devoure his owne father. Those people, which anciently kept this custome, hold it neverthelesse for a testimonie of pietie and good affection: seeking by that meane to give their fathers the worthiest and most honorable sepulchre, harboring their fathers bodies and reliques in themselves and in their marrow; in some sort reviving and regenerating them by the transmutation made in their quicke flesh, by digestion and nourishment. It is easie to be considered what abomination and cruelty it had beene, in men accustomed and trained in this inhumane superstition, to cast the carcasses of their parents into the corruption of the earth, as food for beasts and wormes. *Licurgus* wisely considereth in theft, the vivacitie, diligence, courage, and nimblenesse, that is required in surprising or taking any thing from ones neighbour, and the commoditie which thereby redoundeth to the common-wealth, that every man heedeth more

laws of  
the world

Sayings  
of Aris-  
tippus

curiously the keeping of that which is his owne : and judged, that by this twofold institution to assaile and to defend, much good was drawne for military discipline (which was the principall Science and chiefe vertue, wherin he would enable that nation) of greater respect and more consideration, then was the disorder and injustice of prevailing and taking other mens goods. *Dionysius* the tyrant offered *Plato* a robe made after the Persian fashion, long, damasked and perfumed : But he refused the same, saying, *that being borne a man, he would not willingly put-on a womans garment* : But *Aristippus* tooke it, with this answere, *that no garment could corrupt a chaste minde*. His Friends reproved his demissenesse, in being so little offended, that *Dionysius* had spitten in his face. Tut (said he) *Fishers suffer themselves to be washed over head and eares, to get a gudgeon*. *Diogenes* washing of coleworts for his dinner, seeing him passe by, said unto him, *If thou couldest live with coleworts, thou wouldest not court and faune upon a tyrant* ; to whom *Aristippus* replied ; *If thou couldest live among men, thou wouldest not wash coleworts*. See here how reason yeeldeth apparance to divers effects. It is a pitcher with two eares, which a man may take hold on, either by the right or left hand.

—*bellum ô terra hospita portas,  
Bello armantur equi, bellum hæc armenta minantur :  
Sed tamen iidem olim curru succedere sueti  
Quadrupedes, et fræna jugo concordia ferre,  
Spes est pacis—* —VIRG. *Æn.* iii. 559.

O stranger-harb'ring land, thou bringst us warre;  
 Steeds serve for warre;  
 These heards doe threaten jarre.  
 Yet horses erst were wont to draw our waines,  
 And harness matches beare agreeing raines,  
 Hope is hereby that wee,  
 In peace shall well agree.

The  
 answer of  
 Socrates  
 to his  
 wife

*Solon* being importuned not to shed vaine and bootles teares for the death of his sonne; *That's the reason* (answered hee) *I may more justly shed them, because they are bootlesse and vaine.* *Socrates* his wife, exasperated her griefe by this circumstance; *Good Lord* (said she) *how unjustly doe these bad judges put him to death! What? Wouldst thou rather they should execute me justly?* replide he to her. It is a fashion amongst us to have holes bored in our eares: the Greekes held it for a badge of bondage. We hide our selves when we will enjoy our wives: The Indians doe it in open view of all men. The Scythians were wont to sacrifice strangers in their Temples, whereas in other places Churches are Sanctuaries for them.

*Inde furor vulgi, quod numina vicinorum  
 Odit quisque locus, cum solos credat habendos  
 Esse Deos quos ipse colit—* —*JUVE. Sat. xv. 36.*

The vulgar hereupon doth rage, because  
 Each place doth hate their neighbours soveraigne  
 lawes,  
 And onely Gods doth deeme,  
 Those Gods, themselves esteeme.

I have heard it reported of a Judge, who  
 when he met with any sharp conflict betweene

Glorious  
uncer-  
tainty of  
the law

*Bartolus* and *Baldus*, or with any case admitting contrarietie, was wont to write in the margin of his book, *A question for a friend*, which is to say, that the truth was so entangled, and disputable, that in such a case he might favour which party he should think good. There was no want but of spirit and sufficiency, if he set not every where through his books, *A Question for a friend*. The Advocates and Judges of our time find in all cases byases too-too-many, to fit them where they think good. To so infinite a science, depending on the authority of so many opinions, and of so arbitrary a subject, it cannot be, but that an exceeding confusion of judgements must arise. There are very few processes so cleare, but the Lawiers advises upon them will be found to differ: What one company hath judged, another will adjudge the contrary, and the very same will another time change opinion. Whereof we see ordinarie examples by this licence, which wonderfully blemisheth the authoritie and lustre of our law, never to stay upon one sentence, but to run from one to another Judge, to decide one same case. Touching the libertie of Philosophicall opinions, concerning vice and vertue, it is a thing needing no great extension, and wherein are found many advises, which were better unspoken, then published to weake capacities. *Arcesilaus* was wont to say, that in pailliardize, it was not worthy consideration, where, on what side, and how it was done. *Et obscenas voluptates, si natura requirât, non*

*genere, aut loco, aut ordine, sed forma, etate, figura metiendas Epicurus putat. Ne amores quidem sanctos à sapiente alienos esse arbitrantur. Queramus ad quam usque atatem juvenes amandi sint. Obscene pleasures, if nature require them, the Epicure esteemeth not to be measured by kind, place, or order; but by forme, age, and fashion. Nor doth he thinke that holy loves should be strange from a wiseman. Let us then question to what yeares yong folke may be beloved. These two last Stoicke-places, and upon this purpose, the reproch of Diogarchus to Plato himselfe, shew how many excessive licenses, and out of common use, soundest Philosophy doth tolerate. Lawes take their authoritie from possession and custome: It is dangerous to reduce them to their beginning: In rowling on, they swell, and grow greater and greater, as doe our rivers: follow them upward, unto their source, and you shall find them but a bubble of water, scarce to be discerned, which in gliding on swelleth so proud, and gathers so much strength. Behold the ancient considerations, which have given the first motion to this famous torrent, so full of dignitie, of honour and reverence, you shall find them so light and weake, that these men which will weigh all, and complaine of reason, and who receive nothing upon trust and authoritie, it is no wonder if their judgements are often far-distant from common judgement. Men that take Natures first image for a patterne, it is no marvaile, if in most of their opinions, they misse the common-beaten path. As for example; few*

Laws  
gather  
strength  
with age

Nature's  
path not  
the com-  
mon or  
civil one

amongst them would have approved the forced conditions of our mariages and most of them would have had women in community, and without any private respect. They refused our ceremonies: *Chrysippus* said, that some Philosophers would in open view of all men shew a dozen of tumbling-tricks, yea, without any slops or breeches, for a dozen of olives. He would hardly have perswaded *Calisthenes* to refuse his faire daughter *Agarista* to *Hippocides*, because he had seene him graft the forked tree in her upon a table. *Metrocles* somewhat indiscreetly, as he was disputing in his Schole, in presence of his Auditorie let a fart, for shame whereof he afterwards kept his house, and could not be drawn abroad, untill such time as *Crates* went to visit him, who to his perswasions and reasons, adding the example of his liberty, began to fart a vie with him, and to remove this scruple from off his conscience; and moreover won him to his Stoicall (the more free) Sect, from the Peripateticall (and more civill) one, which [unto that time] he had followed. That which we call civility, not to dare to doe that openly, which amongst us is both lawfull and honest; being done in secret, they termed folly: And to play the wilie Foxe, in concealing and disclaming what nature, custome, and our desire publish and proclame of our actions, they deemed to be a vice. And thought it a suppressing of *Venus* her mysteries, to remove them from out the private vestry of her temple, and expose them to the open view of the people, And that to draw

her sports from out the curtines, was to loose **Natural shame** them. *Shame is matter of some consequence. Concealing, reservation, and circumspection, are parts of estimation.* That, sensuality under the maske of Vertu did very ingeniously procure not to be prostituted in the midst of high-waies, not trodden upon, and seen by the common sort; alledging the dignity and commodity of her wonted Cabinets. Wherupon some say, that to forbid and remove the common brothel-houses, is not only to spread whoredome every where, which only was allotted to those places, but also to incite idle and vagabond men to that vice, by reason of the difficultie.

*Mæchus es Aufidiæ qui vir Corvine fuisti,  
Rivalis fuerat qui tuus, ille vir est.  
Cur aliena placet tibi, quæ tua non placet uxor?  
Nunquid securus non potes arrigere?*

—MART. iii. *Epig.* lxx.

This experience is diversified by a thousand examples.

*Nullus in urbe fuit tota, qui tangere vellet  
Uxorem gratis Cæciliane tuam,  
Dum licuit: sed nunc positis custodibus, ingens  
Turba futurorum est. Ingeniosus homo es.*

—i. *Epig.* lxxiv.

A Philosopher being taken with the deed, was demaunded, what he did: answered very mildly, *I plant man*, blushing no more being found so napping, then if he had bin taken setting of Garlike. It is (as I suppose) of a tender and respective opinion, that a notable and religious Author, holds this action so necessarily-bound to secrecy and shame, that in



Absence  
of re-  
straint

Cynike embracements and dalliances, he could not be perswaded that the worke should come to her end ; but rather, that it lingred and staid, only to represent wanton gestures, and lascivious motions, to maintaine the impudency of their schooles-profession : and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bashfullnesse restrained, they had also afterward need to seeke some secret place. He had not scene far-enough into their licenciousnesse : For, *Diogenes* in sight of all, exercising his Masturbation, bred a longing desire, in the by-standers; that in such sort they might fill their bellies by rubbing or clawing the same. To those that asked him, why he sought for no fitter place to feed in, then in the open frequented high-way, he made answere, *It is because I am hungry in the open frequented high-way.* The Philosophers Women, which medled with their Sects, did likewise in all places, and without any discretion meddle with their bodies : And *Crates* had never received *Hipparchia* into his fellowship, but upon condition, to follow all the customes and fashions of his order. These Philosophers set an extreme rate on vertue ; and rejected al other disciplins, except the morall ; hence is it, that in all actions, they ascribed the Sovereaigne authority to the election of their wise, yea, and above al lawes : and appointed no other restraint unto voluptuousnes, but the inoderation, and preservation of others liberty. *Heraclitus* and *Protagoras*, forsomuch as wine seemeth bitter unto the sick, and pleasing to the healthy ; and an Oare crooked in the water, and straight to

them that see it above water, and such-like contrary apparances, which are found in some subjects; argued that all subjects had the causes of these apparances in them, and that there was som kind of bitternes in the wine, which had a reference unto the sickmans tast; in the Oare a certain crooked quality, having relation to him that seeth it in the water. And so of all things else. Which implieth, that all is in all things, and by consequence nothing in any: for either nothing is, or all is. This opinion put me in mind of the experience we have, that there is not any one sense or visage, either straight or crooked, bitter or sweet, but mans wit shall find in the writings, which he undertaketh to runne-over. In the purest, most unspotted, and most absolutely-perfect-word, that possibly can be, how many errors, falshoods, and lies have beene made to procede from-it? What heresie hath not found testimonies and ground sufficient, both to undertake and to maintaine it selfe? It is therefore, that the Authors of such errors will never goe from this prooffe of the Testimony of words interpretation. A man of worth, going about by authority to approve the search of the Philosophers stone, (wherein he was overwhelmed) alleadged at least five or six severall passages out of the holy bible unto me, upon which (he said) he had at first grounded himselfe, for the discharge of his conscience (for he is a man of the Ecclesiasticall profession) and truly the invention of them, was not only pleasant, but also very fitly applied to the defence of this goodly

The  
Scrip-  
tures  
wrested  
to man's  
fantasy

A  
designed  
obscurity

and mind-inchanting science. This way is the credit of divining fables attained to. There is no prognosticator, if he have but this authority, that any one wil but vouchsafe to read him over, and curiously to search al the infoldings and lustres of his words, but a man shall make him say what he pleaseth, as the Sibils. There are so many meanes of interpretation, that it is hard, be it flat-long, side-long, or edge-long, but an ingenious and pregnant wit, shal in all subjects meet with some aire that wil fit his turn. Therefore is a cloudy, darke, and ambiguous stile found in so frequent and ancient custome. That the Author may gaine, to draw, allure, and busie posterity to himselfe, which not only the sufficiency, but the casuall favour of the matter, may gaine as much or more. As for other matters, let him, be it either through foolishnes or subtilty, shew himself somewhat obscure and divers, it is no matter, care not he for that. A number of spirits sifting, and tossing him-over, will find and expresse sundry formes, either according, or collaterally, or contrary to his owne, all which shall do him credit. He shall see himselfe enriched by the meanes of his Disciples, as the Grammer Schoole Maisters. It is that, which hath made many things of nothing, to passe very currant, that hath brought divers books in credit, and charged with all sorts of matter, that any hath but desired: one selfesame thing, admitting a thousand and a thousand, and as many severall images, and divers considerations, as it best pleaseth us. Is

it possible, that ever *Homer* meant all that, which some make him to have meant: And that he prostrated himselfe to so many, and so severall shapes, as, Divines, Lawiers, Captaines, Philosophers and all sort of people else, which, how diversly and contrary soever it be they treat of sciences, do notwithstanding wholly rely upon him, and refer themselves unto him; as a Generall Maister for all offices, workes, sciences, and tradesmen and an universall counsellor in all enterprises? whosoever hath had need of Oracles or Predictions, and would apply them to himselfe, hath found them in him for his purpose. A notable man, and a good friend of mine, would make one marvel to heare what strange far-fetcht conceits, and admirable affinities, in favor of our religion, he maketh to derive from him; And can hardly be drawne from this opinion, but that such was *Homers* intent and meaning (yet is *Homer* so familiar unto him, as I thinke no man of our age is better acquainted with him). And what he finds in favour of our religion, many ancient learned men, have found in favour of theirs. See how *Plato* is tossed and turned over, every man endeavoring to apply him to his purpose, giveth him what construction he list. He is wrested and inserted to all new-fangled opinions, that the world receiveth or alloweth of, and according to the different course of subjects is made to be repugnant unto himselfe. Every one according to his sense makes him to disavow the customes that were lawfull in his daies, in asmuch as they are unlawfull in these times. All which is very

Too  
zealous  
commentators

The  
senses  
are the  
beginning

lively and strongly maintained, according as the wit and learning of the interpreter is strong and quicke. Upon the ground which *Heraclitus* had, and that sentence of his; that *all things had those shapes in them, which men found in them.* And *Democritus* out of the very same drew a clean contrarie conclusion, *id est, that subjects had nothing at all in them of that which we found in them;* And forasmuch as honny was sweet to one man, and bitter to another, he argued that honny was neither sweet nor bitter. The *Pyrrhonians* would say, they know not whether it be sweet or bitter, or both, or neither: for, they ever gain the highest point of doubting. The *Cyrenaicks* held, that nothing was perceptible outwardly, and only that was perceivable, which by the inward touch or feeling, touched or concerned us, as grieffe and sensuality, distinguishing neither tune, nor colours, but onely certaine affections, that came to us of them; and that man had no other seate of his judgement. *Protagoras* deemed, that to be true to all men, which to all men seemeth so. The *Epicurians* place all judgement in the senses, and in the notice of things, and in voluptuousnesse. *Platoes* mind was, that the judgment of truth, and truth it selfe drawne from opinions and senses, belonged to the spirit, and to cogitation. This discourse hath drawne me to the consideration of the senses, wherein consisteth the greatest foundation and triall of our ignorance. Whatsoever is knowne, is without peradventure knowne by the faculty of the knower: For, since the judgement commeth from the opera-

tion of him that judgeth, reason requireth, that he performe and act this operation by his meanes and will, and not by others compulsion: as it would follow if wee knew things by the force, and according to the law of their essence. Now all knowledge is addressed unto us by the senses, they are our maisters :

and end  
of human  
know-  
ledge

—*via qua munita fidei*

*Proxima fert humanum in pectus, temploque mentis :*

—LUCR. v. 102.

Whereby a way for credit lead's well-linde  
Into mans breast and temple of his minde.

Science begins by them and in them is resolved. After all, we should know no more then a stone, unlesse we know, that here is, sound, smell, light, savor, measure, weight, softnesse, hardnesse, sharpnesse, colour, smoothnesse, breadth and depth. Behold here the platforme of all the frame, and principles of the building of all our knowledge. And according to some, science is nothing else, but what is knowne by the senses. Whosoever can force me to contradict my senses, hath me fast by the throate, and cannot make me recoyle one foote backward. The senses are the beginning and end of humane knowledge.

*Invenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam  
Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli,  
Quid majore fide porro quam sensus haberi  
Debet?—*

—iv. 480, 484.

You shall finde knowledge of the truth at first  
was bred

From our first senses, nor can senses be misse-led.  
What, then our senses, should  
With us more credit hold?

The state  
of those  
who lack

Attribute as little as may be unto them, yet must this ever be graunted them, that all our instruction is addressed by their meanes and intermission. *Cicero* saith, that *Chrysippus* having assaid to abate the power of his senses, and of their vertue, presented contrary arguments unto himselfe, and so vehement oppositions, that he could not satisfie himselfe. Wherupon *Carneades* (who defended the contrary part) boasted, that he used the very same weapons and words of *Chrysippus* to combat against him; and therefore cried out upon him, *Oh miserable man! thine owne strength hath foiled thee.* There is no greater absurditie in our judgment, then to maintaine, that fire heateth not, that light shineth not, that in iron there is neither weight nor firmnesse, which are notices our senses bring unto us: Nor believe or science in man, that may be compared unto that, in certaintie. The first consideration I have upon the senses subject, is, that I make a question, whether man be provided of all naturall senses, or no. I see divers creatures, that live an entire and perfect life, some without sight, and some without hearing; who knoweth whether we also want either one, two, three, or many senses more: For, if we want any one, our discourse cannot discover the want or defect thereof. It is the senses priviledge, to be the extreame bounds of our perceiving. There is nothing beyond them, that may stead us to discover them: No one sense can discover another.

*An poterunt oculos aures reprehendere, an aures  
Tactus, an hunc porro tactum sapor arguet oris,  
An confutabunt nares, oculivse revincant ?*

one or  
more of  
the senses

—488.

Can eares the eyes, or can touch reprehend  
The eares, or shall mouthes-taste that touch amend ?  
Shall our nose it confute,  
Or eyes gainst it dispute ?

They all make the extreamest line of our  
facultie.

—*seorsum cuique potestas*

*Divisa est, sua vis cuique est—*

—491.

To teach distinctly might  
Is shar'de ; each hath its right.

It is impossible to make a man naturally blind, to conceive that he seeth not ; impossible to make him desire to see, and sorrow his defect. Therefore ought we not to take assurance, that our mind is contented and satisfied with those we have, seeing it hath not wherewith to feel her owne malady, and perceive her imperfection, if it be in any. It is impossible to tell that blind man any thing, either by discourse, argument, or similitude, that lodgeth any apprehension of light, colour, or sight in his imagination. There is nothing more backward, that may push the senses to any evidence. The blind-borne, which we perceive desire to se, it is not to understand what they require ; they have learn't of us, that something they want, and something they desire, that is in us, with the effects and consequences thereof, which they call good : Yet wot not they what it is, nor apprehend they it neere or



**Condition of the blind** far. I have seene a Gentleman of a good house, borne blind, at least blind in such an age, that he knowes not what sight is ; he understandeth so little what he wanteth, that as we doe, he useth words fitting sight, and applieth them after a manner onely proper and peculiar to himselfe. A child being brought before him to whom he was god-father, taking him in his armes, he said, good Lord what a fine child this is ! it is a goodly thing to see him : What a cherefull countenance he hath, how prettily he looketh. He will say as one of us. This hall hath a faire prospect : It is very faire weather : The Sunne shines cleare. Nay, which is more : because hunting, hawking, tennis-play, and shuting at buts are our common sports and exercises (for so he hath heard) his mind will be so affected unto them, and he wil so busie himselfe about them, that he will thinke to have as great an interest in them, as any of us, and shew himselfe as earnestly passionate, both in liking and disliking them as any else ; yet doth he conceive and receive them but by hearing. If he be in a faire champian ground, where he may ride, they will tell him, yonder is a Hare started, or the Hare is killed, he is as busily earnest of his game, as he heareth others to be, that have perfect sight. Give him a ball, he takes it in the left hand, and with the right strikes it away with his racket ; In a piece he shutes at randome ; and is well pleased with what his men tell him, be it high or wide. Who knowes whether mankind commit as great a folly, for want of some sense, and that by this

default, the greater part of the visage of things be concealed from us? Who knowes whether the difficulties we find in sundry of Natures workes, proceede thence? And whether divers effects of beasts, which exceed our capacitie, are produced by the facultie of some sense, that we want? And whether some of them, have by that meane a fuller and more perfect life then ours? We seize on an apple wel nigh with all our senses; We find rednesse, smoothnesse, odor and sweetnesse in it; besides which, it may have other vertues, either drying or binding, to which we have no sense to be referred. The proprieties which in many things we call secret, as in the Adamant to draw iron, is it not likely there should be sensitive faculties in nature able to judge and perceiue them, the want whereof breedeth in us the ignorance of the true essence of such things? It is happily some particular sense that unto Cokes or Chanticleares discovereth the morning and midnight houre, and moveth them to crow: That teacheth a Hen, before any use or experience, to feare a Hawke, and not a Goose or a Peacocke, farre greater birds: That warneth yong chickins of the hostile qualitie which the Cat hath against them, and not to distrust a Dog; to strut and arme themselves against the mewing of the one (in some sort a flattering and milde voice) and not against the barking of the other (a snarling and quarrelous voice:) that instructeth Rats, Wasps, and Emmets, ever to chuse the best cheese and fruit; having never tasted them before: And

Secret  
properties,  
and  
animal  
instinct

Comparison of the senses

that addresseth the Stag, the Elephant, and the Serpent, to the knowledge of certaine herbs and simples, which, being either wounded or sicke, have the vertue to cure them. There is no sense but hath some great domination, and which by his meane affordeth not an infinite number of knowledges. If we were to report the intelligence of soundes, of harmony and of the voice, it would bring an [unimaginable] confusion to all the rest of our learning and science. For, besides what is tyed to the proper effect of every sense, how many arguments, consequences and conclusions draw we unto other things, by comparing one sense to another? Let a skilfull wise man but imagine humane nature to be originally produced without sight and discourse, how much ignorance and trouble such a defect would bring unto him, and what obscurity and blindness in our mind: By that shall wee perceive, how much the privation of one, or two, or three such senses, (if there be any in us) doth import us about the knowledge of truth. We have by the consultation and concurrence of our five senses formed one Verity, whereas peradventure there was required the accord and consent of eight or ten senses, and their contribution, to attaine a perspicuous insight of her, and see her in her true essence. Those Sects which combate mans science, doe principally combate the same. by the uncertaintye and feebleness of our senses: For, since by their meane and intermission all knowledge comes unto us, if they chauce to misse in the report they make unto us, if either

they corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring unto us, if the light which by them is transported into our soule be obscured in the passage, we have nothing else to hold by. From this extreame difficultie are sprung all these phantazies, which everie subject containeth, whatsoever we find in it: That it hath not what we suppose to find in it. And that of the Epicurians, which is, that the Sunne is no greater than our sight doth judge it,

Ideas  
concern-  
ing the  
senses

*Quicquid id est, nihilo fertur majore figurâ,  
Quàm nostris oculis quam cernimus esse videtur.*

—LUCR. v. 576.

What'ere it be, it in no greater forme doth passe,  
Then to our eyes, which it behold, it seeming was.

that the apparances, which represent a great body, to him that is neare unto it, and a much lesser to him that is further from it, are both true;

*Nec tamen his oculis falli concedimus hilum:  
Proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfingere noli.*

—iv. 380, 387.

Yet graunt we not, in this, our eyes deceiv'd or blind,  
Impute not then to eyes this error of the mind.

and resolutely, that there is no deceit in the senses: That a man must stand to their mercy, and elsewhere seek reasons to excuse the difference and contradiction we find in them; yea invent all other untruthes, and raving conceits (so farre come they) rather then excuse the causes. *Timagoras* swore, that howsoever he winked or turned his eyes, he could never perceive the light of the candle to double: And that

**Dis-** this seeming proceeded from the vice of opinion,  
**avowal** and not from the instrument. Of all absurdities,  
**of the** the most absurd amongst the Epicurians, is, to  
**senses** disavow the force and effect of the senses.

*Proinde quod in quoque est his visum tempore, verum est:  
 Et si non potuit ratio dissolvere causam,  
 Cur ea quæ fuerint juxtim quadrata, procul sint  
 Visa rotunda: tamen præstat rationis egentem  
 Reddere mendosè causas utriusque figuræ,  
 Quam manibus manifesta suis emittere quoquam,  
 Et violare fidem primam, et convellere tota  
 Fundamenta, quibus nixatur vita salusque.  
 Non modo enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque ipsa  
 Concidat extemplo, nisi credere sensibus ausis,  
 Præcipitesque locos vitare, et cætera quæ sint  
 In genere hoc fugienda.—LUCR. iv. 502.*

What by the eyes is seene at any time, is true,  
 Though the cause Reason could not render of the  
 view,  
 Why, what was square at hand, a farre off seemed  
 round,  
 Yet it much better were, that wanting reasons  
 ground  
 The causes of both formes we harp-on, but not hit,  
 Then let slip from our hands things cleare, and  
 them omit,  
 And violate our first believe, and rashly rend  
 All those ground-workes, whereon both life and  
 health depend,  
 For not alone all reason falls, life likewise must  
 Faile out of hand, unlesse your senses you dare trust,  
 And breake-necke places, and all other errors  
 shunne,  
 From which we in this kinde most carefully should  
 runne.

This desperate and so little Philosophicall  
 counsell, represents no other thing, but that

humane science cannot be maintained but by unreasonable, fond and mad reason; yet is it better, that man use it to prevaile, yea and of all other remedies else how phantasticall soever they be, rather then avow his necessarie foolishnesse: So prejudiciall and disadvantageous a veritie he cannot avoide, but senses must necessarily be the Sovereigne maisters of his knowledge: But they are uncertaine and falsifiable to all circumstances: There must a man strike to the utmost of his power, and if his just forces faile him (as they are wont) to use and employ obstinacie, temeritie and impndencie. If that which the Epicurians affirme be true, that is to say, we have no science, if the apparances of the senses be false: and that which the Stoicks say, if it is also true that the senses apparences are so false as they can produce us no science: We will conclude at the charges of these two great Dogmatist Sects, that there is no science. Touching the error and uncertaintie of the senses operation, a man may store himselfe with as many examples as he pleaseth, so ordinary are the faults and deceits they use towards us. And the ecchoing or reporting of a valley, the sound of a Trumpet seemeth to sound before us, which commeth a mile behind us.

The  
senses at  
times  
deceive

*Extantesque procul medio de gurgite montes  
Iidem apparent longo diversi licet.*—LUCA. iv. 398.

*Et fugere ad puppium colles campique videntur  
Quas agimus propter navim.*—390.

—ubi in medio nobis equus acer obhasit

*Flumine, equi corpus transversum ferre videtur  
Vis, et in adversum flumen contrudere raptim.*—423.

The  
sense of  
feeling

And hills, which from the maine far-off to kenning stand,

Appere all one, though they farre distant be, at hand.

And hilles and fields doe seeme unto our boate to flie,  
Which we drive by our boate as we doe passe thereby.

When in midst of a streame a stately Horse doth stay,

The streame's orethwarting seemes his body crosse to sway,

And swiftly 'gainst the streame to thrust him th' other way.

To roule a bullet under the fore-finger, the middlemost being put over it, a man must very much enforce himselfe, to affirme there is but one, so assuredly doth our sense present us two. That the senses do often maister our discourse, and force it to receive impressions, which he knoweth and judgeth to be false, it is daily scene. I leave the sense of feeling, which hath his functions neerer, more quicke and substantiall, and which by the effect of the grieve or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-enverse all these goodly Stoicall resolutions, and enforceth to cry out of the belly-ache him, who hath with all resolution established in his mind this Doctrine, that the cholike, as every other sicknesse or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate any thing of Sovereaigne good or chiefe felicity, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue: *there is no heart so demisse, but the rattling sound of a drum, or the clang of a Trumpet, will rowze and inflame; nor mind so harsh and sterne, but the sweetnesse and harmony of musicke, will*

move and tickle; nor any soule so skittish and stubborne, that hath not a feeling of some reverence, in considering the cloudy vastitie and gloomie canopies of our churches, the eye-pleasing diversitie of ornaments, and orderly order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout and religious sound of our Organs, the moderate, symphonically, and heavenly harmonie of our voices: Even those that enter into them with an obstinate will and contemning minde, have in their heart a feeling of remorse, of chillesse, and horrour, that puts them into a certaine diffidence of their former opinions. As for me, I distrust mine owne strength, to heare with a settled minde some of *Horace* or *Catullus* verses sung with a sufficiently well tuned voice, uttered by, and proceeding from a faire, yong and hart-alluring mouth. And *Zeno* had reason to say, that the voice was the flowre of beauty. Some have gone about to make me beleeve, that a man, who most of us French men know, in repeating certaine verses he had made, had imposed upon me, that they were not such in writing, as in the aire, and that mine eyes would judge of them otherwise then mine eares: so much credit hath pronounciation to give price and fashion to those workes that passe her mercy: Whereupon *Philoxenus* was not to be blamed, when hearing one to give an ill accent to some composition of his, he tooke in a rage some of his pots or bricks, and breaking them, trode and trampled them under his feet, saying unto him, *I breake and trample what is thine, even as thou manglest and marrest what is mine.* Wherefore did they, (who with

The effect  
of the  
voice



The sense of sight an undanted resolve have procured their owne death, because they would not see the blow or stroke comming) turne their face away? And those who for their healths sake cause themselves to be cut and cauterized, cannot endure the sight of the preparations, tooles, instruments and workes of the Chirurgion, but because the sight should have no part of the paine or smart? Are not these fit examples to verifie the authoritie, which senses have over discourse? We may long-enough know that such a ones lockes or flaring-tresses are borrowed of a Page, or taken from some Lacky, that this faire ruby-red came from *Spaine*, and this whitenes or smoothnes from the Ocean sea: yet must sight force us to find, and deeme the subject more lovely and more pleasing, against all reason. For, in that there is nothing of its owne,

*Auferimur cultu; gemmis, auròque teguntur*  
*Crimina, pars minima est ipsa puella sui*  
*Sæpe ubi sit quod ames inter tam multa requiras:*  
*Decipit hæc oculos Ægide dives amor.*

—OVID. *Rcm. Am. i. 343.*

We are misse-led by ornaments: what is amisse Gold and gemmes cover, least part of her selfe the maiden is.

'Mongst things so many you may aske, where your love lies,  
 Rich love by this Gorgonian shield deceives thine eyes.

How much doe Poets ascribe unto the vertue of the senses, which makes *Narcissus* to have even fondly lost himselfe for the love of his shadow?

*Gunctaque miratur, quibus est mirabilis ipse,  
Se cupit imprudens, et qui probat, ipse probatur,  
Dumque petit, petitur: pariterque accendit et ardet.*

—OVID. *Metam.* iii. 424.

He all admires, whereby himselfe is admirable,  
Fond he, fond of himselfe, to himselfe amiable;  
He, that doth like, is lik'd, and while he doth desire;  
He is desired, at once he burnes and sets on fire.

Dizzy  
heights

and *Pigmations* wit's so troubled by the impression of the sight of his ivory statue, that hee loveth and serves it, as if it had life :

*Oscula dat, reddique putat, sequiturque, tenetque,  
Et credit tactis digitos insidere membris,  
Et metuit pressos veniat ne livor in artus.*—OVID. *Ib.* x. 256.

He kisses, and thinks kisses come againe,  
He sues, pursues, and holds, beleeves in vaine  
His fingers sinke where he doth touch the place,  
And feares least black and blew toucht-lims deface.

Let a Philosopher be put in a Cage made of small and thin-set iron wire, and hanged on the top of our Ladies Church steeple in *Paris*; he shall, by evident reason, perceive that it is impossible he should fall downe out of it; yet can he not chuse (except he have beene brought up in the trade of Tilers or Thatchers) but the sight of that exceeding height must needs dazle his sight, and amaze or turne his senses. For, we have much ado to warrant our selves in the walks or battlements of an high tower or steeple, if they be battlemented and wrought with pillars, and somewhat wide one from another, although of stone, and never so strong. Nay, some there are, that can scarcely thinke or heare of such hights. Let a beame or planke be laid acrosse

Alpine  
precipices

from one of those two Steeples to the other, as big, as thick, as strong, and as broad, as would suffice any man to walke safely upon it, there is no Philosophicall wisdom of so great resolution and constancie, that is able to encourage and perswade us to march upon it, as we would, were it below on the ground. I have sometimes made triall of it upon our mountaines on this side of *Italie*, yet am I one of those that will not easily be affrighted with such things, and I could not without horror to my minde and trembling of leggs and thighes endure to looke on those infinite precipices and steepy downe-falls, though I were not neere the brim, nor any danger within my length, and more ; and unlesse I had willingly gone to the perill, I could not possibly have falne. Where I also noted, that how deep soever the bottome were, if but a tree, a shrub, or any out-butting crag of a Rock presented it selfe unto our eyes, upon those steepie and high Alpes, somewhat to uphold the sight, and divide the same, it doth somewhat ease and assure us from feare, as if it were a thing, which in our fall might either helpe or uphold us : And that we cannot without some dread and giddinesse in the head, so much as abide to looke upon one of those even and downe-right precipices : *Ut despici sine vertigine simul oculorum animique non possit.* So as they can not looke downe without giddinesse both of eyes and mindes : Which is an evident deception of the sight. Therefore was it, that a worthy Philosopher pulled out his eyes, that so he might discharge his soule of the seduc-

ing and diverting he received by them, and the better and more freely apply himself unto Philosophy. But by this accompt, he should also have stopped his eares, which (as *Theophrastus* said) are the most dangerous instruments we have to receive violent and sodaine impressions to trouble and alter us, and should, in the end, have deprived himselfe of all his other senses, that is to say, both of his being, and life. For, they have the power to command our discourses and sway our mind: *Fit etiam sepe specie quadam, sepe vocum gravitate et cantibus, ut pellantur animi vehementius: sepe etiam curâ et timore* (Cic. Divin. i.). It comes to passe, that many times our minds are much moved with some shadow, many times with deep sounding, or singing of voices, many times with care and feare. Physitions hold, that there are certaine complexions, which by some sounds and instruments are agitated even unto furie. I have seene some, who without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawne under their table: and we see few men, but are much troubled at that sharp, harsh, and teeth-edging noise that Smiths make in filing of brasse, or scraping of iron and steele together: others will be offended, if they but heare one chew his meat somewhat aloud; nay, some will be angrie with, or hate a man, that either speaks in the nose, or rattles in the throat. That piping prompter of *Gracchus*, who mollified, raised, and wound his masters voice, whilst he was making Orations at Rome; what good did he, if the motion and qualitie of the sound, had not the force to move,

The  
sense of  
hearing

Effect of passion on the senses and efficacie to alter the auditories judgment? Verily, there is great cause to make so much adoe, and keepe such a coyle about the constancie and firmnesse of this goodly piece, which suffers it selfe to be handled, changed, and turned by the motion and accident of so light a winde. The very same cheating and cozening, that senses bring to our understanding, themselves receive it in their turnes. Our mind doth like wise take revenge of it, they lie, they cog, and deceive one another a vic. What we see and heare, being passionately transported by anger, we neither see nor heare it as it is.

*Et solem geminum, et duplices se ostendere Thebas.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 470.

That two Sunnes doe appeare  
And double *Thebes* are there.

The object which we love, seemeth much more  
fairer unto us, then it is ;

*Multimodis igitur pravos turpesque videmus  
Esse in delitiis, summoque in honore vigere.*

—LUCR. iv. 1147.

We therefore see that those, who many waies are  
bad,  
And fowle, are yet belov'd, and in chiefe honour  
had ;

and that much fowler, which we loath. To  
a pensive and heart-grieved man, a cleare day  
seemes gloomie and duskie. Our senses are not  
onely altered, but many times dulled, by the  
passions of the mind. How many things see we,

which we perceive not, if our mind be either  
 busied or distracted else where ?

Life  
 compared  
 unto a  
 dream

*—in rebus quoque apertis noscere possis,  
 Si non advertas animum, proinde esse, quasi omni  
 Tempore scemota fuerint, longéque remota.—Ibid. 808.*

Ev'n in things manifest it may be seene,  
 If you marke not, they are, as they had beene  
 At all times sever'd farre, remooved cleane.

The soule seemeth to retire her selfe into the  
 inmost parts, and ammuseth the senses faculties :  
 So that both the inward and outward parts of  
 man are full of weaknes and falshood. Those  
 which have compared our life unto a dreame,  
 have happily had more reason so to doe, then  
 they were aware. When we dreame, our soule  
 liveth, worketh and exerciseth all her faculties,  
 even, and as much, as when it waketh ; and if  
 more softly, and obscurely ; yet verily not so, as  
 that it may admit so great a difference, as there  
 is betweene a darke night, and a cleare day :  
 Yea as betweene a night and a shadow : There  
 it sleepeth, here it slumbreth : More or lesse,  
 they are ever darkneses, yea Cimmerian dark-  
 nesess. We wake sleeping, and sleep waking.  
 In my sleep I see not so cleare ; yet can I  
 never find my waking cleare enough, or with-  
 out dimnesse. Sleepe also in his deepest rest,  
 doth sometimes bring dreames asleepe : But  
 our waking is never so vigilant, as it may  
 clearely purge and dissipate the ravings or idle  
 phantasies, which are the dreames of the waking,  
 and worse then dreames. Our reason and soule,  
 receiving the phantasies and opinions, which

The sleeping seize on them, and authorising our senses of dreames actions, with like approbation, as it beasts doth the daies. Why make we not a doubt, whether our thinking, and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kind of sleeping? If the senses be our first Judges, it is not ours that must only be called to counsell: For, in this facultie beasts have as much (or more) right, as we. It is most certaine, that some have their hearing more sharpe then man; others their sight; others their smelling; others their feeling, or taste. *Democritus* said, that Gods and beasts had the sensitive faculties much more perfect then man. Now betweene the effects of their senses and ours, the difference is extream. Our spettle cleanseth and drieth our sores, and killeth Serpents.

*Tantaque in his rebus distantia differitasque est,  
Ut quod aliis cibus est, aliis fuit acre venenum.  
Sæpe etenim serpens, hominis contacta saliva,  
Disperit, ac sese mandendo conficit ipsa.*—*Lucret.* iv. 640.

There is such distance, and such difference in these things,

As what to one is meate, t' another poison brings.  
For oft a Serpent toucht with spettle of a man  
Doth die, and gnaw it selfe with fretting all he can.

What qualitie shall we give unto spettle, either according to us, or according to the Serpent? by which two senses shall we verifie its true essence, which we seeke for? *Pliny* saith, that there are certaine Sea-hares in *India*, that to us are poison, and we bane to them; so that we die, if we but touch them; now whether is man

or the Sea-hare poison? Whom shall we be-  
 leeve, either the fish of man, or the man of fish? **The jaundiced eye**  
 Some quality of the ayre infecteth man, which  
 nothing at all hurteth the Oxe: Some other the  
 Oxe, and not man: Which of the two is either  
 in truth, or nature the pestilent quality? Such  
 as are troubled with the yellow jandise, deeme  
 all things they looke upon to be yellowish, which  
 seeme more pale and wan to them then to us.

*Lurida præterea sunt quæcumque tuerentur  
 Arquati.—Ibid. 333.*

And all that jaundis'd men behold,  
 They yellow straight or palish hold.

Those which are sicke of the disease which  
 Phisitions call *Hyposphagma*, which is a suffusion  
 of blood under the skin, imagine that all things  
 they see are bloodie and red. Those humors  
 that so change the sights operation, what know  
 we whether they are predominant and ordinarie  
 in beasts? For, we see some, whose eyes are  
 as yellow as theirs that have the jandise, others,  
 that have them all blood-shotten with rednesse:  
 It is likely that the objects-collour they looke  
 upon, seemeth otherwise to them then to us:  
 Which of the two judgements shall be true?  
 For, it is not said, that the essence of things,  
 hath reference to man alone. Hardnesse, white-  
 nesse, depth and sharpnesse, touch the service  
 and concerne the knowledge of beasts as well  
 as ours: Nature hath given the use of them  
 to them, as well as to us: When we winke a  
 little with our eye, wee perceive the bodies we



Impres-  
sion of the  
senses  
easily  
altered

looke upon to seeme longer and out-stretched.  
Many beasts have their eye as winking as we.  
This length is then happily the true forme of  
that body, and not that which our eyes give it,  
being in their ordinarie seate. If we close our  
eye above, things seeme double unto us.

*Bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis,  
Et duplices hominum facies, et corpora bina.*

—*Ibid.* 452, 454.

The lights of candels double flaming then;  
And faces twaine, and bodies twaine of men.

If our eares chance to be hindred by any  
thing, or that the passage of our hearing bee stop't,  
we receive the sound otherwise, then we were  
ordinarily wont. Such beasts as have hairie eares,  
or that in lieu of an eare have but a little hole,  
doe not by consequence heare that we heare, and  
receive the sound other then it is. We see at  
solemne shewes or in Theaters, that opposing  
any collour glasse betweene our eyes and the  
torches light, whatsoever is in the roome seemes  
or greene, or yellow, or red unto us, according  
to the collour of the glasse.

*Et vulgò faciunt id lutea russaque vela,  
Et ferriginea, cum magnis intenta theatris.  
Per malos volgata trabésque trementia pendent:  
Namque ibi concessum caveai subter, et omnem  
Scenai speciem, patrum matrumque deorumque  
Inficiunt coguntque suo volitare colore, —*Ibid.* 73.*

And yellow, russet, rustie curtaines worke this feate  
In common sights abroade, where over skaffolds  
great

Stretched on masts, spred over beames, they hang  
still waving.

All is  
uncertain

All the seates circuit there, and all the stages braving,  
Of fathers, mothers, Gods, and all the circled shoue  
They double-die and in their collours make to flowe.

It is likely, that those beasts eyes, which we see to be of divers collours, produce the apparances of those bodies they looke upon, to be like their eyes. To judge the senses operation, it were then necessary we were first agreed with beasts, and then betweene our selves, which we are not, but ever-and-anon disputing about that one seeth, heareth or tasteth something to be other, then indeed it is; and contend as much as about any thing else, of the diversity of those images, our senses report unto us. A yong child heareth, seeth, and tasteth otherwise by natures ordinary rule, then a man of thirtie yeares; and he otherwise then another of threescore. The senses are to some more obscure and dimme, and to some more open and quicke. We receive things differently, according as they are, and seeme unto us. Things being then so uncertaine, and full of controversie, it is no longer a wonder if it be told us, that we may avouch snow to seeme white unto us; but to affirme that its such in essence and in truth, we cannot warrant our selves: which foundation being so shaken, all the Science in the world must necessarily goe to wracke. What? doe our senses themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be raised aloft, and in the handling flat: Shall we say that muske is

The  
senses  
are often  
contra-  
dictory

pleasing or no, which comforteth our smelling and offendeth our taste; There are Hearbs and Ointments, which to some parts of the body are good, and to othersome hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but unpleasing to the sight. Those jewels wrought and fashioned like feathers or sprigs, which in impreses are called, feathers without ends, no eye can discern the bredth of them, and no man warrant himselfe from this deception, that on the one end or side it groweth not broder and broder, sharper and sharper, and on the other more and more narrow, especially being rouled about ones finger, when notwithstanding in handling, it seemeth equal in bredth, and every where alike. Those who to encrease and aide their luxury were anciently wont to use perspective or looking glasses, fit to make the object they represented, appeare very big and great, that so the members they were to use, might by that ocular increase please them the more: to whether of the two senses yeilded they, either to the sight presenting those members as big and great as they wisht them, or to the feeling, that presented them little and to be disdained? Is it our senses that lend these diverse conditions unto subjects, when for all that, the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eate: it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof:

*Ut cibus in membra atque artus cum dicitur omnes  
Disperit, atque aliam naturam sufficit ex se. —Ibid. iii. 728.*

As meate distributed into the members, dies,  
Another nature yet it perishing supplies.

The moistnesse which the roote of a tree suckes, becomes a trunke, a leafe and fruite: And the aire being but one; applied unto a trumpet, becommeth diverse in a thousand sorts of sounds. Is it our senses (say I) who likewise fashion of diverse qualities those subjects, or whether have they them so and such? And upon this doubt, what may wee conclude of their true essence? Moreover, since the accidents of sicknesse, of madnesse, or of sleepe, make things appeare other unto us, then they seeme unto the healthie, unto the wise, and to the waking: Is it not likely, that our right seate and naturall humors, have also wherewith to give a being unto things, having reference unto their condition, and to appropriate them to it selfe, as doe inordinate humors; and our health as capable to give them his visage, as sicknesse? Why hath not the temperate man some forme of the objects relative unto himselfe, as the intemperate: and shall not he likewise imprint his Character in them? The distasted impute wallowishnes unto Wine: the healthie, good taste; and the thirsty brisknesse, rellish and delicacie. Now our condition appropriating things unto it selfe, and transforming them to its owne humour: wee know no more how things are in sooth and truth; For: *nothing comes unto us but falsified and altered by our senses.* Where the compasse, the quadrant or the ruler are crooked: all proportions drawne by them, and all the buildings erected by their measure, are also necessarily defective and imperfect. The uncertaintie of our

and they  
alter and  
falsify  
every-  
thing

Who senses yeelds what ever they produce, also un-  
 shall certaine.  
 decide ?

*Denique ut in fabrica, si prava est regula prima,  
 Normaque si fallax rectis regionibus exit,  
 Et libella aliquã si ex parte claudicat hilum,  
 Omnia mendosè fieri, atque obstipa necessum est,  
 Prava, cubantia, prona, supina, atque absona tecta,  
 Jam ruere ut quædam videantur velle, ruantque  
 Proditâ judiciis fallacibus omnia primis.  
 Hic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava necesse est,  
 Falsaque sit falsis quæcunque à sensibus orta est.*

—*Ibid.* iv. 514.

As in building if the first rule be to blame,  
 And the deceitfull squire erre from right forme and  
 frame,  
 If any instrument want any jot of weight,  
 All must needs faultie be, and stooping in their  
 height,  
 The building naught, absurd, upward and downe-  
 ward bended,  
 As if they meant to fall, and fall, as they intended ;  
 And all this as betrayde  
 By judgements formost laid.  
 Of things the reason therefore needs must faultie bee  
 And false, which from false senses drawes its  
 pedegree.

As for the rest, who shall bee a competent  
 Judge in these differences? As wee said in con-  
 troversies of religion, that we must have a judge  
 enclined to neither party, and free from partialitie,  
 or affection, which is hardly to be had among  
 Christians ; so hapneth it in this: For if he  
 be old, he cannot judge of ages sense ; himself  
 being a party in this controversie : and so if he  
 be yong, healthy, sicke, sleeping or waking, it  
 is all one : We had need of some body void and

exempted from all these qualities, that without **All things work in circles** any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent unto him: By which account we should have a Judge, that were no man. To judge of the apparences that we receive of subjects, we had need have a judicatorie instrument: to verifie this instrument, we should have demonstration; and to approve demonstration, an instrument: thus are we ever turning round. Since the senses cannot determine our disputation, themselves being so full of uncertainty, it must then be reason: And no reason can be established without another reason; then are we ever going backe unto infinity. Our phantasie doth not apply it selfe to strange things, but is rather conceived by the interposition of senses; and senses cannot comprehend a strange subject; Nay not so much as their owne passions; and so, nor the phantasie, nor the apparence is the subjects, but rather the passions only, and sufferance of the sense: which passion and subject are divers things: Therefore *who judgeth by apparences, judgeth by a thing different from the subject.* And to say, that the senses passions referre the qualitie of strange subjects by resemblance unto the soule: How can the soule and the understanding rest assured of that resemblance, having of it selfe no commerce with forraigne subjects? Even as he that knowes not *Socrates*, seeing his picture, cannot say that it resembleth him. And would a man judge by apparences, be it by all, it is impossible; for by their [contrarities] and dif-

¶ We are  
such stuff  
as dreams  
are made  
on,

ferences they hinder one another, as we see by experience. May it be that some choice apparences rule and direct the others? This choice must be verified by another choice, the second by a third: and so shal we never make an end. In few, *there is no constant existence, neither of our being, nor of the objects.* And we, and our judgement, and all mortall things else do uncessantly rowle, turne, and passe away. Thus can nothing be certainly established, nor of the one, nor of the other; both the judging and the judged being in continuall alteration and motion. We have no communication with being; for every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apparence and shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion. And if perhaps you fix your thought to take its being; it would be even, as if one should go about to graspe the water: for, how much the more he shal close and presse that, which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shall loose what he would hold and fasten. Thus, seeing all things are subject to passe from one change to another; reason, which therein seeketh a reall subsistence, findes her selfe deceived as unable to apprehend any thing subsistent and permanent: forsomuch as each thing either commeth to a being, and is not yet altogether; or beginneth to dy before it be borne. *Plato* said, that bodies had never an existence but indeed a birth, supposing that *Homer* made the *Ocean* Father, and *Thetis*

Mother of the Gods, thereby to shew us, that all things are in continuall motion, change and variation. As he sayth, a common opinion amongst all the Philosophers before his time; Only *Parmenides* excepted, who denied any motion to be in things of whose power he maketh no small account. *Pitthagoras*, that each thing or matter was ever gliding, and labile. The Stoicks affirme, there is no present time, and that which we call present, is but conjoyning and assembling of future time and past. *Heraclitus* averreth that no man ever entered twice one same river. *Epicarmus* avoucheth, that who ere while borrowed any mony, doth not now owe it; and that he who yesternight was bidden to dinner this day, commeth to day unbidden; since they are no more themselves, but are become others: and that one mortall substance could not twice be found in one self estate: for by the sodainesse and lightnesse of change, sometimes it wasteth, and other times it assembleth; now it comes and now it goes; in such sort, that he who beginneth to be borne, never comes to the perfection of being. For, this being borne commeth never to an end, nor ever stayeth as being at an end; but after the seed proceedeth continually in change and alteration from one to another. As of mans seed, there is first made a shapelesse fruit in the Mothers Wombe, then a shapen Childe, then being out of the Wombe, a sucking babe, afterward he becometh a ladde, then consequently a stripling, then a full growne man, then an old man, and in the end an aged

All things  
vary and  
change



**Nothing** decrepite man. So that age and subsequent  
**remains** generation goeth ever undoing and wasting the  
**in one** precedent.  
**state**

*Mutat enim mundi naturam totius ætas,  
 Ex alioque alius status excipere omnia debet,  
 Nec manet ulla sui similis res, omnia migrant,  
 Omnia commutat natura etvertere cogit.*

—*Ibid.* v. 837.

Of th' universall world, age doth the nature change,  
 And all things from one state must to another  
 range,  
 No one thing like it selfe remaines, all things doe  
 passe,  
 Nature doth change, and drive to change, each  
 thing that was.

And when we doe foolishly feare a kind  
 of death, when as we have already past, and  
 dayly passe so many others. For, not only  
 (as *Heraclitus* said) the death of fire is a genera-  
 tion of ayre; and the death of ayre, a generation  
 of Water: But also we may most evidently see  
 it in our selves. The flower of age dieth,  
 fadeth and fleeteth, when age comes upon us,  
 and youth endeth in the flower of a full growne  
 mans age: Child-hood in youth, and the first  
 age, dieth in infancie: and yesterday endeth in  
 this day, and to day shall die in to morrow.  
 And *nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one  
 state.* For to prove it, if we should ever continue  
 one and the same, how is it then, that now we  
 rejoyce at one thing, and now at another? How  
 comes it to passe, we love things contrary, or  
 we hate them, or we love them, or we blame

them? How is it, that we have different affections, holding no more the same sense in the same thought? For it is not likely, that without alteration we should take other passions, and *what admitteth alterations, continueth not the same*: and if it be not one selfe same, than is it not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becomming other from other. And by consequence Natures senses are deceived and lie falsly; taking what appeareth for what is; for want of truly knowing what it is that is. But then what is it, that is indeed? That which is eternall, that is to say, that which never had birth, nor ever shall have end; and to which no time can bring change or cause alteration. For time is a fleeting thing, and which appeareth as in a shadow, with the matter ever gliding, alwaies fluent, without ever being stable or permanent; to whom rightly belong these termes, *Before* and *After*: and, it *Hath beene*, or *Shall be*. Which at first sight doth manifestly shew, that it is not a thing, which is; for, it were great sottishnesse, and apparent false-hood, to say, that that is which is not yet in being, or that already hath ceased from being. And concerning these words, *Present*, *Instant*, *Even now*, by which it seemes, that especially we uphold and principally ground the intelligence of time; reason discovering the same, doth forthwith destroy it: for presently it severeth it a sunder and divideth it into future and past time, as willing to see it necessarily parted in two. As much happeneth unto nature,

Of the  
nature of  
Time

**God alone is, ever was, and ever shall be** which is measured according unto time, which measureth her: for no more is there any thing in her, that remaineth or is subsistent: rather all things in her are either borne or ready to be borne, or dying. By meanes whereof, it were a sinne to say of God, who is the only that is, that he was or shall be: for these words are declinations, passages, or Vicissitudes of that, which cannot last, nor continue in being. Wherefore we must conclude; *that only God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immoveable and immutable eternity, not measured by time, nor subject to any declination, before whom nothing is, nor nothing shall be after, nor more new nor more recent, but one really being: which by one onely Now or Present, filleth the Ever, and there is nothing that truly is, but he alone:* Without saying, he hath bin, or he shall be, without beginning, and sans ending. To this so religious conclusion of a heathen man, I will only adde this word, taken from a testimony of the same condition, for an end of this long and tedious discourse which might well furnish me with endlesse matter. *Oh what a vile and abject thing is man (saith he) unlesse he raise himselfe above humanity!* Observe here a notable speech, and a profitable desire; but likewise absurd. For to make the handfull greater then the hand, and the embraced greater then the arme; and to hope to straddle more then our legs length; is impossible and monstrous: nor that man should mount over and above himselfe or humanity; for, he cannot see but with his owne eyes, nor take

hold but with his owne armes. He shall raise himselfe up, if it please God extraordinarily to lend him his helping hand. He may elevate himselfe by forsaking and renouncing his owne meanes, and suffering himselfe to be elevated and raised by meere heavenly meanes. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoicke vertue to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transmutation.

We think  
too much  
of our  
selves

### CHAP. XIII

#### Of judging of others death

**W**HEN we judge of others assurance or boldnesse in death, which without all per-adventure, is the most remarkeable action of humane life, great heed is to be taken of one thing, which is, that a man will hardly beleieve he is come to that point. Few men die with a resolution, that it is their last houre: And no wher doth hopes deceit ammuse us more. She never ceaseth to ring in our eares, that others have beene sicker, and yet have not died; the cause is not so desperate as it is taken; and if the worst happen, God hath done greater wonders. The reason is, that we make too much account of our selves. It seemeth, that the generality of things doth in some sort suffer for our annullation, and takes compassion of our state. Forsomuch as our sight being altered,

Days of old always commended represents unto it selfe things alike; and we imagine, that things faile it, as it doth to them: As they who travell by Sea, to whom mountaines, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seeme to goe the same motion, and keepe the same course, they doe:

*Prouchimur portu, terræque urbésque recedunt.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* iii. 72.

We sayling launch from harbour, and  
Behinde our backes leave townes, leave land.

Who ever saw old age, that commended not times past, and blamed not the present, charging the world and mens customes with her misery, and lowring discontent?

*Jámque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator,  
Et cum tempora temporibus presentia confert  
Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis  
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repletum.*

—LUCR. ii. 113.

The gray-beard Plow-man sighs, shaking his  
hoarie head,  
Compares times that are now, with times past  
heretofore,  
Praises the fortunes of his father long since dead,  
And crackes of ancient men, whose honesty was  
more.

We entertaine and carry all with us: Whence it followeth, that we deeme our death to be some great matter, and which passeth not so easily, nor without a solemne consultation of the Starres; *Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos. So many Gods keeping a stirre about one mans life.* And so much the more we thinke it,

by how much the more we praise our selves. **Seeming impossibility of death**  
 What? should so much learning and knowledge be lost with so great dammage, without the Destinies particular care? A soule so rare and exemplar, costs it no more to be killed, then a popular and unprofitable soule? This life, that covereth so many others, of whom so many other lives depend, that, for his use possesseth so great a part of the world and filleth so many places, is it displaced as that which holdeth by its owne simple string? No one of us thinkes it sufficient, to be but one. Thence came those words of *Cæsar* to his pilot, more proudly swolne, then the Sea that threatned him :

—*Italiam si cælo authore recusas,  
 Me pete: sola tibi causa hæc est justa timoris,  
 Vectorem non nosse tuum; per rumpe procellas  
 Tutelâ secure mei.*—LUCAN. iii. 579.

If *Italie* thou doe refuse with heaven thy guide,  
 Turne thee to me: to thee only just cause of feare  
 Is that thy passinger thou know'st not: stormie  
 tide  
 Breake through, secure by guard of me, whom thou  
 dost beare.

And these :

—*credit jam digna pericula Cæsar  
 Fatis esse suis: tantusque evertere (dixit)  
 Me superis labor est, parvâ quem puppe sedentem,  
 Tam magno petiere mari.*—*Ibid.* 653.

Cæsar doth now beleve those dangers worthie are  
 Of his set fate; and saies, doe Gods take so much  
 pain  
 Me to undoe, whom they thus to assault prepare  
 Set in so small a skiffe, in such a surging maine?

Of those who set about to die well And this common foppery, that *Phæbus* for one whole yeare, bare mourning weedes on his forehead for the death of him :

*Ille etiam extincto miseratus Casare Romam,  
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit.*

—VIRG. *Georg.* i. 466.

The Sunne did pittie take of *Rome* when *Cæsar* dide,  
When he his radiant head in obscure rust did hide.

And a thousand such, wherewith the world suffers it selfe to be so easily conicatcht, deeming that our owne interests disturbe heaven, and his infinitie is moved at our least actions. *Non tanta celo societas nobiscum est, ut nostro fato mortalis sit ille quoque siderum fulgor* (PLIN. *nat. hist.* ii. c. 8). *There is no such societie betweene heaven and us, that by our destinie the shining of the starres should be mortall as we are.* And to judge a resolution and constancie in him, who though he be in manifest danger, doth not yet beleve it, it is no reason: And it sufficeth not, that he die in that ward, unlesse he have directly, and for that purpose put himselfe into it: It hapneth, that most men set a sterne countenance on the matter, looke big, and speake stoutly, thereby to acquire reputation, which if they chance to live, they hope to enjoy. Of all I have seene die, fortune hath disposed their countenances, but not their desseignes. And of those which in ancient times have put themselves to death, the choise is great, whether it were a sodaine death, or a death having time and leasure. That cruell Romane Emperor said of

his prisoners, that he would make them feele death: And if any fortun'd to kill himselfe in prison, That fellow hath escaped me (would he say.) He would extend and linger death, and cause it be felt by torments.

Preparations of Heliogabalus for suicide

*Vidimus et toto quamuis in corpore caso,  
Nil animæ lethale datum, morémque nefanda  
Durum sævitie, pereuntis parcere morti.*

—LUCAN. ii. 179.

And we have seene, when all the body tortur'd lay,  
Yet no stroke deadly giv'n, and that in humane way  
Of tyranny, to spare his death that sought to die.

Verily, it is not so great a matter, being in perfect health, and well settled in mind, for one to resolve to kill himselfe: It is an easie thing to shew stoutnesse and play the wag before one come to the pinch. So that *Heliogabalus* the most dissolute man of the world, amidst his most riotous sensualities, intended, whensoever occasion should force him to it, to have a daintie death. Which, that it might not degenerate from the rest of his life, he had purposely caused a stately towre to be built, the nether part and fore-court whereof was floored with boardes richly set and enchased with gold and precious stones, from-off which he might headlong throwe himselfe downe: He had also caused cordes to be made of gold and crimson silke, therewith to strangle himselfe: and a rich golden rapier, to thrust himselfe through: and kept poison in boxes of Emeraldes and Topases, to poison himselfe with, according to the humor he might



Determined have, to chuse which of these deaths should  
suicides please him.

*Impiger et fortis virtute coactâ.*

—iv. 797. Gurlo.

A ready minded gallant,  
And in forst valour valiant.

Notwithstanding, touching this man, the wantonnesse of his preparation makes it more likely that he would have fainted, had he beene put to his triall. But even of those, who most undantedly have resolved themselves to the execution, we must consider (I say) whether it were with a life ending stroke, and that tooke away any leasure to feele the effect thereof. For it is hard to guesse, seeing life droope away by little and little, the bodies-feeling entermingling it self with the soules, meanes of repentance being offered, whether in so dangerous an intent, constancie or obstinacie were found in him. In *Cæsars* civill warres, *Lutius Domitius* taken in *Prussia*, having empoysoned himselfe, did afterward rue and repent his deede. It hath hapned in our daies, that some having resolved to die, and at first not stricken deepe enough, the smarting of his flesh, thrusting his arme backe, twice or thrice more wounded himselfe anew, and yet could never strike sufficiently deepe. Whilst the arraignment of *Plautius Silvanus* was preparing, *Urgulania* his grandmother, sent him a poignard, wherewith not able to kill himselfe throughly, he caused his owne servants to cutte his veines. *Albucilla* in *Tiberius* time, purposing

to kill her selfe, but striking over faintly, gave her enemies leasure to apprehend and imprison her, and appoint her what death they pleased. So did Captaine *Demosthenes* after his discomfiture in *Sicilie*. And *C. Fimbria* having over feebly wounded himselfe, became a sutor to his boy, to make an end of him. On the other side, *Ostorius*, who forsomuch as he could not use his owne arme, disdained to employ his servants in any other thing but to hold his dagger stiffe and strongly; and taking his running, himselfe caried his throate to its point, and so was thrust through. ~~True~~ Truth, it is a meate a man must swallow without chewing, unlesse his throate bee frost-fred. And therefore *Adrianus* the Emperour made his Physition to marke and take the just COMPASSE of the mortall place about his pap, that so his aime might not faile him, to whom he had given charge to kill him. Loe why *Cesar* being demanded, which was the death he most allowed, answered, *the least premeditated, and the shortest*. If *Cesar* said it, it is no faintnesse in me to believe it. *A short death (saith Plinie) is the chiefe happe of humane life*. It grieveth them to acknowledge it. No man can be said, to be resolved to die, that feareth to purchase it, and that cannot abide to looke upon, and out-stare it with open eies. Those which in times of execution are seene to runne to their end, and hasten the execution, doe it not with resolution, but because they will take away time to consider the same; it grieves them not to be dead, but to die.

Not to be  
dead, but  
to die, is  
the fear

Calm-  
ness of  
Socrates  
before  
death

*Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum, nihil aestimo.*

—Cic. *Tusc. Qu. i.* Epicha.

I would not die too soone.

But care not, when tis doone.

It is a degree of constancie, unto which I have experienced to arive, as those that cast themselves into danger, or into the Sea, with closed eies. In mine opinion, there is nothing more worthy the noting in *Socrates* life, then to have had thirty whole daies to ruminat his deaths-decree, to have digested it all that while, with an assured hope, without discrey or alteration, and with a course of act away words, rather suppress, and loose-hanging, in out-stretched and raised by the weight of a cogitation. That *Pomponius Atticus*, to whom *Cicero* writeth, being sicke, caused *Agrippa* his sonne in law, and two or three of his other friends to be called for, to whom he said; that having assaid, how he got nothing in going about to be cured, and what he did to prolong his life did also lengthen and augment his grieft, he was now determined to make an end of one and other; intreating them to allow of his determination, and that by no meanes, they would lose their labour to disswade him from it. And having chosen to end his life by abstinence, his sicknes was cured by accident; The remedy he had employed to make himselfe away, brought him to health againe. The Physitions, and his friends, glad of so happy a successe, and rejoycing thereof with him, were in the end greatly deceived; for, with all they could doe, they

were never able to make him alter his former opinion, saying, that as he must one day passe that careire, and being now so forward, he would remove the care, another time to beginne againe. This man having with great leasure apprehended death, is not only no whit discouraged, when he comes to front it, but resolutely falls upon it: for being satisfied of that, for which he was entred the combate, in a braverie he thrust himselfe into it, to see the end of it. It is farre from fearing death, to goe about to taste and savour the same. The historie of *Cleanthes* the Philosopher is much like to this. His gummes being swolne, his Physitions perswaded him to use great abstinence; having fasted two daies, he was so well amended, as they told him he was well, and might returne to his wonted course of life. He contrarily, having already tasted some sweetnes in this fainting, resolveth not to draw backe, but finish what he had so well begunne, and was so farre waded into. *Tullius Marcellinus*, a yong Romane Gentleman, willing to prevent the houre of his destiny, to ridde himselfe of a disease, which tormented him more than he would endure, although Physitions promised certainly to cure him, howbeit not sodainely; called his friends unto him to determine about it: some (saith *Seneca*) gave him that counsell, which for weaknesse of heart, themselves would have taken: others for flatterie, that which they imagined would be most pleasing unto him: but a certaine Stoike standing by,

Of those  
who go  
about  
to taste  
death

Death of  
Marcel-  
linus

said thus unto him. *Toile not thy selfe Marcellinus, as if thou determinedst some weightie matter; to live is no such great thing, thy base groomes and [brute] beasts live also, but it is a matter of consequence to die honestly, wisely and constantly. Remember how long it is thou doest one same thing, to eate, to drinke, and sleepe, to drinke, to sleepe, to eate. Wee are ever uncessantly wheeling in this endlesse circle.* Not only bad and intolerable accidents, but the very society to live, brings a desire of death. *Marcellinus* had no need of a man to counsell, but of one to helpe him: his servants were afraid to meddle with him; but this Philosopher made them to understand, that familiars are suspected; onely when the question is, whether the maisters death have beene voluntary: otherwise it would bee as bad an example to hinder him, as to kill him, forasmuch as,

*In vitum qui servat, idem facit occidit.*

—HOR. *Art. Poet.* 467.

Who saves a man against his will,  
Doth ev'n as much as he should kill.

Then he advertized *Marcellinus*, that it would not be unseemely, as fruit or comfets at our tables, when our bellies be full, are given unto by-standers, so the life ended, to distribute something to such as have beene the ministers of it. *Marcellinus* being of a frank and liberal disposition, caused certaine summes of mony to be divided amongst his servants, and comforted them. And for the rest there needed

neither yron nor blood, he undertooke to depart from this life, not by running from it: Not to escape from death, but to taste it. And to have leisure to condition or bargain with death, having quit all manner of nourishment, the third day ensuing, after he had caused himselfe to be sprinkled over with luke-warme water, by little and litle he consumed away; and (as he said) not without some voluptuousnesse and pleasure. Verily, such as have had these faintings and swoownings of the heart, which proceed from weaknesse, say, that they feele no paine at all in them, but rather some pleasure, as of a passage to sleepe and rest. These are premeditated, and digested deaths. But that *Cato* alone, may serve to all examples of vertue, it seemeth, his good destiny caused that hand wherewith he gave himselfe the fatall blow, to be sicke and sore: that so hee might have leisure to affront death and to embrace it, reenforcing his courage in that danger, in lieu of mollifying the same. And should I have represented him in his proudest state, it should have beene all bloody-gored, tearing his entrailes, and rending his gutts, rather then with a sword in his hand, as did the statuaries of his time. For, this second murther, was much more furious, then the first.

Death  
of Cato

512  
11  
11

## CHAP. XIII

How that our spirit hindereth it selfe

Subtle  
prefer-  
ences

IT is a pleasant imagination, to conceive a spirit justly ballanced betweene two equall desires. For, it is not to be doubted, that he shall never be resolved upon any match: Forso-much as the application and choise brings an inequality of prise: And who should place us betweene a Bottle of wine, and a Gammon of Bacon, with an equall appetite to eat and drinke, doubtlesse there were noe remedy, but to die of thirst and of hunger. To provide against this inconvenient, when the Stoikes were demanded, whence the election of two indifferent things commeth into our soule (and which causeth, that from out a great number of Crownes or Angells we rather take one then another, when there is no reason to induce us to preferre any one before others) they answer, that this motion of the soule is extraordinarie and irregular, coming into us by a strange, accidentall and casuall impulsion. In my opinion, it might rather be said, that nothing is presented unto us, wherein there is not some difference, how light so ever it bee: And that either to the sight, or to the feeling, there is ever some choise, which tempteth and drawes us to it, though imperceptible and not to bee distinguished. In like manner, hee that shall presuppose a twine-thrid equally strong all-through, it is impossible by all impossi-

bilitie that it breake, for, where would you have the flaw or breaking to beginne? And at once to breake in all places together, it is not in nature. Who should also adde to this, the Geometricall propositions, which by the certainty of their demonstrations, conclude, the contained greater then the containing, and the centre as great as his circumference: And that finde two lines uncessantly approaching one unto another, and yet can never meete and joyne together: And the Philosophers stone, and quadrature of the circle, where the reason and the effects are so opposite: might peradventure draw thence some argument to salve and helpe this bold speech of *Pliny*; *Solum certum, nihil esse certi, et homine nihil miserius aut superbius* (*PLIN. nat. hist. ii. c. 7*). *This onely is sure, that there is nothing sure; and nothing more miserable, and yet more arrogant then man.*

**This alone is sure, that there is nothing sure**

## CHAP. XV

**That our desires are increased by difficultie**

**T**HERE is no reason but hath another contrary unto it, saith the wisest party of Philosophers. I did erewhile ruminare upon this notable saying, which an ancient writer alleageth for the contempt of life. *No good can bring us any pleasure, except that, against whose losse we are prepared: In equo est,*



'Rare-  
nesse  
and  
difficulty

*dolor amissa rei, et timor amittende* (SEN. *Epist.* xcviij.), *Sorrow for a thing lost, and feare of losing it, are on an even ground.* Meaning to gaine thereby, that the fruition of life cannot perfectly be pleasing unto us, if we stand in any feare to lose it. A man might nevertheless say on the contrary part, that we embrace and claspe this good so much the harder, and with more affection, as we perceive it to be lesse sure, and feare it should be taken from us. For, it is manifestly found, that as fire is rouzed up by the assistance of cold, even so our will is whetted on by that which doth resist it.

*Si nunquam Danaen habuisset aenea turris,  
Non esset Danae de Jove facta parens.*

—OVID. *Am.* ii. *El.* xix. 27

If *Danae* had not beene clos'd in brazen Tower,  
*Jove* had not clos'd with *Danae* in golden shower.

And that there is nothing so naturally opposite to our taste, as satiety, which comes from ease and facility, nor nothing that so much sharpeneth it, as rarenesse and difficulty. *Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debet fugare periculo crescit. The delight of all things encreaseth by the danger, whereby it rather should terrifie them that affect it.*

*Galla nega; satiatur amor, nisi gaudia torquent.*

—MART. *iv.* *Epig.* xxxviii. 1.

Good wench, deny, my love is cloied,  
Unlesse joyes grieve, before enjoyed.

To keepe love in breath and longing, *Lycurgus* ordained, that the married men of *Lacedemonia*

might never converse with their wives, but by stealth, and that it should be as great an imputation and shame to finde them laid together, as if they were found lying with others. The difficulty of assignations or matches appointed, the danger of being surprised, and the shame of ensuing to morrow,

giveth  
esteeme  
unto  
things,

—*et languor, et silentium,*

*Et latere petitus imo spiritus.*—*HOR. Epo. xi. 13.*

And whispering voice, and languishment,  
And breath in sighes from deepe sides sent,

are the things that give relish and tartnesse to the sawce. How many most laciviously-pleasant sports, proceed from modest and shamefast manner of speech, of the daliances and workes of love? Even voluptuousnesse seekes to provoke and stirre it selfe up by smarting. It is much sweeter when it itcheth, and endeared when it gauleth. The curtezan *Flora* was wont to say, that she never lay with *Pompey*, but she made him carry away the markes of her teeth.

*Quod petiere, premunt arcuè, faciuntque dolorem*

*Corporis, et dentes inlidunt sæpe labellis:*

*Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant ledere id ipsum*

*Quodcumque est, rabies unde illi germina surgunt,*

—*LuCR. iv. 1070.*

So goes it every where: *Rarenesse and difficulty* giveth esteeme unto things. Those of *Marca d'Ancona* in *Italy*, make their vowes, and goe on pilgrimage rather unto *James* in *Galicia*, and those of *Galicia* rather unto our Lady of *Loreto*. In the Country of *Liege*, they make

For-  
bidden  
fruit

more account of the Bathes of *Luca*; and they of *Tuscany* esteeme the Baths of *Sparve* more then their owne: In *Rome* the Fence-schooles are ever full of French-men, when few Romans come unto them. Great *Cato*, as well as any else, was even cloied and distasted with his wife, so long as she was his owne, but when another mans, then wished he for her, and would faine have lickt his fingers at her. I have heretofore put forth an old stalion to soile, who before did no sooner see or smell a Mare, but was so lusty, that no man could rule him, nor no ground hold him; ease and facilitie, to come to his owne when he list, hath presently quailed his stomacke, and so cloyed him, that he is weary of them: But toward strange Mares, and the first that passeth by his pasture, there is no hoe with him, but suddenly he returnes to his old wonted neighings, and furious heate. Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choise and owne possession, to runne after and pursue what he hath not.

*Transvolat in medio posita, et fugientia captat.*

—HOR. Ser. i. Sat. ii. 107.

It over flies what open lies,  
Pursuing onely that which flies.

*To forbid us any thing, is the ready way to make us long for it.*

—*nisi tu servare puellam*

*Incipit, incipiet desinere esse mea.*

—OVID. Am. ii. El. xix. 47.

If you begin not your wench to enshrine,  
She will begin to leave off to be mine.

And to leave it altogether to our will, is but to breede dislike and contempt in us; So that *Satiety* begets distaste  
*to want, and to have store, breedeth one selfe same inconvenience.*

*Tibi quod superest, mihi quod desit, dolet.*

—TER. *Phor.* act. i. sce. 3.

You grieve because you have to much;  
 It griev's me that I have none such.

Wishing and injoying trouble us both alike. The rigor of a mistris is yrkesome, but ease and facility (to say true) much more; forasmuch as discontent and vexation proceed of the estimation we have of the thing desired, which sharpen love, and set it afire: Whereas *Satiety begets distaste*: It is a dull, blunt, weary, and drouzy passion.

*Si qua volet regnare dis, contemnat amantem.*

—QVID, *Am.* ii. *El.* xix. 33.

If any list long to beare sway,  
 Scorne she her lover, ere she play.

—contemnit amantem,

*Sic hodie veniet, si qua negavit heri,*

—PROP. ii. *El.* xiv. 19.

Lovers, your lovers scorne, contemne, delude,  
 deride;  
 So will shee come to day, that yesterday denied.

Why did *Poppea* devise to maske the beauties of her face, but to endear them to her lovers? Why are those beauties veiled downe to the heeles, which all desire to shew, which all wish to see? Why doe they cover with so many lotts,

**Women's coquetry** one over another, those parts, where chiefly consisteth our pleasure and theirs? And to what purpose serve those baricadoes, and verdugalles, wherewith our women arme their flankes, but to allure our appetite, and enveagle us to them by putting us off?

*Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.*

—VIRG. *Buco. Ecl. iii. 65.*

She to the willow's runs to hide,  
Yet gladly would she first be spide.

*Interdum tunica duxit operta moram.*

—PRO. *ibid. Eleg. xv. 6.*

She cover'd with her cote in play,  
Did sometime make a short delay.

Whereto serves this mayden-like bashfulnesse, this wilfull quaintnesse, this severe countenance, this seeming ignorance of those things, which they know better than our selves, that goe about to instruct them, but to encrease a desire, and endear a longing in us, to vanquish, to gourmandize, and at our pleasure, to dispose all this squeamish ceremonie, and all these peevish obstacles? For, it is not only a delight, but a glory to besot and debauch this dainty and nice sweetnesse, and this infantine bashfulnesse, and to subject a marble and sterne gravity to the mercy of our flame. It is a glory (say they) to triumph over modesty, chastity and temperance: and who disswadeth Ladies from these parts, betraieth both them and himselfe. It is to be supposed, that their heart yerneth for feare, that the sound of our wordes woundeth

the purity of their eares, for which they hate us, and with a forced constraint, agree to withstand our importunitie. Beauty with all her might, hath not wherewith to give a taste of her selfe without these interpositions. See in *Italie*, wher most, and of the finest beauty is to be sold, how it is forced to seek other strange meanes and suttle devises, arts and tricks, to yeeld her selfe pleasing and acceptable: and yet in good sooth, doe what it can, being venal and common, it remaineth feeble, and is even languishing. *Even as in vertue, of two equall effects, we hold that the fairest, and wortbiest, wherein are proposed more lets, and which affordeth greater bazards.* It is an effect of Gods providence, to suffer his holy Church, to be vexed and turmoyled as we see, with so many troubles and stormes, to rouze, and awaken by this opposition and strife the godly and religious soules, and raise them from out a lethall security, and stupified slumber, wherein so long tranquillity had plunged them. If we shall counterpoize the losse we have had, by the number of those, that have strayed out of the right way, and the profit that acrueth unto us, by having taken hart of grace, and by reason of combate raised our zeale, and forces; I wot not whether the profit doth surmount the losse. We thought to tie the bond of our mariages the faster, by removing all meanes to dissolve them; but by how much faster, that of constraint hath bin tied, so much more hath that of our will and affection bin slacked and loosed: Whereas on the con-

Warfare  
is the life  
of the  
Church

**Too vindictive  
punish-  
ment con-  
demned** trary side, that, which so long time held mariages in honour and safty in *Rome*, was the liberty to breake them who list. They kept their wives the better, forsomuch as they might leave them; and when divorces might freely be had, there past five hundred years and more, before any would ever make use of them.

*Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius urit.*

—OVID. *Am.* ii. *El.* xix. 3.

What we may doe, doth little please:  
It woormes us more, that hath lesse ease.

To this purpose might the opinion of an ancient Writer be adjoyned; that torments do rather encourage vices, than suppress them; that they beget not a care of well-doing, which is the worke of reason and discipline, but only a care not to be surprized in doing evill.

*Latius excisa pestis contagia serpunt.*

Th' infection of the plague nigh spent  
And rooted out, yet further went.

I wot not whether it be true, but this I know by experience, that policie was never found to be reformed that way. The order and regiment of manners dependeth of some other meane. The Greeke stories make mention of the Agrippians, neighbouring upon *Scithia*, who live without any rod or staffe of offence, where not onely, no man undertakes to buckle with any other man, but whosoever can but save himselfe, there (by reason of their vertue and sanctity of life) is as it were in a Sanctuary:

And no man dares so much as touch him. Many have recourse to them, to atone and take up quarrels and differences, which arise amongst men else where. There is a Nation, where the inclosures of Gardens and Fields they intend to keep severall, are made with a seely twine of cotten, which amongst them is found to be more safe and fast, then are our ditches and hedges. *Furem signata sollicitant, Aperta effractorius præterit* (SEN. Epist. lxix.). *Things sealed up sollicite a thiefe to breake them open: Whereas a common burglayer will passe by quietly things that lie open.* Amongst other meanes, ease and facility doth haply cover and fence my house from the violence of civill wares: Inclosure and fencing drawe on the enterprise; and distrust, the offence; I have abated and weakned the souldiers designe, by taking hazard and all meanes of military glory from their exploite, which is wont to serve them for a title, and stead them for an excuse. What is performed couragiously, at what time justice lieth dead, and law hath not her due course, is ever done honorably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house dastardly and trecherous. It is never shut to any that knocketh. It hath no other gúardian or provision but a Porter, as an ancient custome, and used ceremony, who serveth not so much to defend my gate, as to offer it more decently and courteously to all commers. I have nor watch nor sentinell; but what the Starres keepe for mee: That Gentleman is much to blame, who makes a

Enclo-  
sures  
entice  
thieves



Montaigne's  
chateau: a  
sanctuary

shew to stand upon his garde, except he be very strong indeed. Who so is open on one side, is so every where. Our Forefathers never dreamed on building of frontire Townes or Castles.

The meanes to assaile. (I meane without battery, and troopes of armed men) and to surprise our houses encrease daily beyond the meanes of garding or defending. Mens wits are generally exasperated and whetted on that way. An invasion concerneth all, the defence none but the rich. Mine was sufficiently strong, according to the times when it was made. I have since added nothing unto it that way; and I would feare, the strength of it should turne against my selfe. Seeing a peaceable time will require we shall unfortifie them. It is dangerous not to be able to recover them againe, and it is hard for one to be assured of them. For, concerning intestine broiles, your owne servant may be of that faction you stand in feare of. And where religion serveth for a pretence, even alliances and consanguinitie become mistrustfull under colour of justice. Common rents cannot entertaine our private garisons. They should all be consumed. We have not wherewith, nor are wee able to doe it, without our apparent ruine, or more incommodiouly, and therewithall injuriously, without the common peoples destruction. The state of my losse should not bee much worse. And if you chance to be a looser, your owne friends are readier to accuse your improvidence and unhedinesse than to moane

you, and excuse your ignorance and carelesse-  
 nesse, concerning the offices belonging to your  
 profession. That so many strongly - garded  
 houses have beene lost, whereas mine continueth  
 still, makes me suspect they were overthrowne,  
 onely because they were so diligently garded.  
 It is that which affoordeth a desire, and minis-  
 treth a pretence to the assailant. All garde  
 beare a shew of warre; which if God be so  
 pleased may light upon me. But so it is, I  
 will never call for it. It is my sanctuary or  
 retreat to rest my selfe from warres. I en-  
 devour to free this corner from the publicke  
 storme, as I doe another corner in my soule.  
 Our warre may change forme, and multiply and  
 diversifie how and as long as it list; but for my  
 selfe I never stirre. Amongst so many bari-  
 caded and armed houses, none but my selfe (as  
 farre as I know) of my quality, hath meerely  
 trusted the protection of his unto the heavens:  
 for I never removed neither plate, nor hang-  
 ings, nor my evidences. I will neither feare,  
 nor save my selfe by halfe. If a full acknow-  
 ledgement purchaseth the favour of God, it  
 shall last me for ever unto the end: If not,  
 I have continued long enough, to make my  
 continuance remarkeable, and worthy the regis-  
 tring. What? Is not thirtie yeares a goodly  
 time?

from the  
 public  
 storms

## CHAP. XVI

## Of Glory

Glory  
belongs  
to God  
alone

THERE is both name, and the thing: the name, is a voice which noteth, and signifieth the thing: the name, is neither part of thing nor of substance: it is a stranger-piece joyned to the thing, and from it. God who in and by himselfe is all fulnesse, and the type of all perfection, cannot inwardly be augmented or encreased: yet may his name be encreased and augmented, by the blessing and praise, which we give unto his exteriour workes; which praise and blessing since we cannot incorporate into him, forsomuch as no accession of good can be had unto him, we ascribe it unto his name, which is a part without him, and the nearest unto him. And that is the reason why *glory and honour appertaineth to God only*. And there is nothing so repugnant unto reason, as for us to goe about to purchase any for our selves: For, being inwardly needy and defective, and our essence imperfect, and ever wanting amendment, we ought only labour about that. We are all hollow and empty, and it is not with breath and words we should fill our selves. We have need of a more solide substance to reaire our selves. *An hunger starved man might be thought most simple, rather to provide himselfe of a faire garment, then of a good meales-meate*: We must runne to that,

which most concerneth us. *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus* (*Luke ii. 14*): *Glory be to God on high, and peace in earth amongst men*; As say our ordinary prayers. We are in great want of beautie, health, wisdom, vertue and such like essentiall parts. Exteriour ornaments may be sought for when we are once provided of necessary things. Divinitie doth very amply and pertinently treat of this subject, but I am not very conversant with it. *Chrysippus* and *Diogenes* have beene the first, and most constant authors of the contempt of glory. And amongst all sensualities, they said, there was none so dangerous, nor so much to be avoided, as that which commeth unto us by the approbation of others. Verily experience makes us thereby feele, and undergoe many damageable treasons. *Nothing so much poisoneth Princes as flattery*: Nor nothing whereby the wicked minded gaine so easie credit about them; nor any enticement so fit, nor pandership so ordinary to corrupt the chastity of women, then to feed and entertaine them with their praises. The first enchantment the Syrens employed to deceive *Ulysses*, is of this nature.

*Deceivers nous, dece, o treslouable Ulyse,  
Et le plus grand honneur dont la Grece fleurisse.*

Turne to us, to us turne, *Ulysses* thrice-renowned,  
The principall renowne wherewith all *Greece* is  
crowned.

Philosophers said, that all the worlds glory de-

**HIDE  
THY  
LIFE** *served not, that a man of wiselome should so  
much as stretch forth his finger to acquire it.*

*Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?*

—JUVEN. *Sat.* vii. 81.

Never so glorious name,  
What ist, be it but fame?

I say for it alone: for it drawes many commodities after it, by which it may yeeld it selfe desirable: It purchaseth us good will: It makes us lesse exposed to others injuries and offences, and such like things. It was also one of the principall decrees of *Epicurus*: for, that precept of his Sect, **HIDE THY LIFE**, which forbideth men to meddle with publike charges and negotiations, doth also necessarily presuppose that a man should despise glory: which is an approbation the world makes of those actions we give evidence of. He that bids us to hide our life, and care but for our selves, and would not have us know of others, would also have us not to be honoured and glorified therby. So doth he counsel *Idomeneus*, by no meanes to order his actions, by the vulgar opinion and publike reputation: unlesse it be to avoide other accidentall incommodities, which the contempt of men might bring unto him. Those discourses are (in mine advise) very true and reasonable: But I wot not how, we are double in our selves, which is the cause, that what we beleeve, we beleeve it not, and cannot rid our selves of that, which we condemne. Let us consider the last words of *Epicurus*, and which

he speaketh as he is dying: they are notable and worthy such a Philosopher: but yet they have some badge of his names commendations, and of the humour which by his precepts he had disavowed. Behold here a letter, which he endited a little before he yeilded up the ghost. **Letter of Epicurus**  
*Epicurus to Hermachus health and greeting: Whilst I passed the happy, and even the last day of my life I writ this, accompanied neverthelesse with such paine in my bladder and anguish in my entrails, that nothing can be added to the greatnesse of it; yet was it recompenced with the pleasure, which the remembrance of my inventions and discourses brought unto my soule. Now as requireth the affection, which even from the infancie thou hast borne me and Philosophy, embrace the protection of Metrodorus his children: Loe here his letter. And which makes me interpret, that the pleasure which in his soule he saith to feele of his inventions, doth in some sort respect the reputation, which after his death hee thereby hoped to attaine, is the ordinance of his last will and testament, by which he willeth, that Aminomachus and Timocrates his heires, should for the celebration of his birth-day every month of January supply all such charges as Hermachus should appoint: And also for the expence he might be at upon the twentieth of every Moone for the feasting and entertainment of the Philosophers his familiar friends, who in the honour of his memorie and of Metrodorus should meete together. Carneades hath beene chiefe of the contrary opinion,*

Virtue and hath maintained, that glory was in it selfe  
 that is to bee desired, even as we embrace our post-  
 seen of humes for themselves, having neither knowledge  
 men nor jovissance of them. This opinion hath not  
 missed to be more commonly followed, as are  
 ordinarily those, that fit most and come nearest  
 our inclinations. *Aristotle* amongst externall  
 goods yeeldeth the first ranke unto it: And  
 avoideth as two extreame vices, the immo-  
 deration, either in seeking, or avoiding it. I  
 beleeve, that had we the booke which *Cicero*  
 writ upon this subject, we should heare strange  
 matters of him: for he was so fond in this pas-  
 sion, as had he dared, he would (as I thinke)  
 have easily falne into the excesse, that others  
 fell in; which is, that even vertue was not  
 to be desired, but for the honour, which ever  
 waited on it:

*Paulum sepulta distat inertia  
 Celata virtus.*

—HOR. *Car. iv. Od. ix. 29.*

There is but little difference betweene,  
 Vertue conceald, unskilfulnesse unseene.

Which is so false an opinion, as I am vexed  
 it could ever enter a mans understanding that  
 had the honour to beare the name of a Philo-  
 sopher. If that were true, a man needed not to  
 be vertuous but in publike: and we should never  
 need to keepe the soules operations in order and  
 rule, which is the true seate of vertue, but only  
 so much as they might come to the knowledge

of others. Doth then nothing else belong unto it, but craftily to faile, and subtilly to cozen? If thou knowest a Serpent to be hidden in any place (saith *Carneades*) to which, he by whose death thou hopest to reape commodity, goeth unawares to sit upon, thou committest a wicked act if thou warne him not of it: and so much the more, because thy action should be knowne but to thy selfe. If we take not the law of wel-doing from our selves: If impunity be justice in us; to how many kindes of trecherie are we daily to abandon our selves? That which *Sp. Peduceus* did, faithfully to restore the riches which *C. Plotius* had committed to his only trust and secrecie, and as my selfe have done often; I thinke not so commendable, as I would deeme it execrable, if we had not done it. And I thinke it beneficiall we should in our daies be mindfull of *Publius Sextilius Rufus* his example, whom *Cicero* accuseth that he had received a great inheritance against his conscience: Not only repugnant, but agreeing with the lawes. And *M. Crassus*, and *Q. Hortensius*, who by reason of their authority and might, having for certaine Quidities been called by a stranger to the succession of a forged will, that so he might make his share good: they were pleased not to be partakers of his forgery, yet refused not to take some profit of it: Very closely had they kept themselves under the countenance of the accusations, witnesses and lawes. *Meminerint Deum se habere testem, id est (ut ego arbitror) mentem suam. Let them*

Legal  
virtue in-  
sufficient



What is  
more  
fleeting  
than  
fame?

remember they have God to witnesse, that is, (as I construe it) their owne minde. Vertue is a vaine and frivolous thing, if it draw her commendation from glory. In vaine should we attempt to make her keepe her rancke apart, and so should we disjoyne it from fortune: for, *What is more casuall then reputation? Profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: Ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Fortune governeth in all things, and either advanceth or abaseth them rather by froward disposition, then upright judgement.* To make actions to be knowne and seene, is the meere worke of fortune. It is chance that applieth glory unto us, according to her temeritie. I have often seene it to goe before desert; yea and many times to out-goe merit by very much. He that first bethought himselfe of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory, did better then he thought of. They are exceeding vaine things. It also often goeth before her body, and sometimes exceeds by much in length. Those who teach Nobility to seeke in valour nothing but honour: *Quasi non sit honestum quod nobilitatum non sit; As though it were not honest, except it were ennobled:* What gaine they by it? But to instruct them never to hazard themselves, unlesse they be seene of others; and to be very heedy, whether such witnesses are by, that may report newes of their valour, whereas a thousand occasions, to doe well are daily offered, and no man by to marke them? How many notable particular actions, are buried

in the throng of a Battell? Whosoever am-museth himselfe to controle others, in so confused a hurly-burly, is not greatly busied about it: and produceth the testimony which he giveth of his fellowes proceedings or exploits against himselfe. *Vera et sapiens animi magnitudo, honestum illud quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in gloria judicat.* A true and wise magnanimitie esteemeth that honesty, which especially followeth Nature, to consist in good actions, and not in glory. All the glory I pretend in my life, is, that I have lived quietly. Quietly not according to *Metrodorius*, *Arcesilas*, or *Aristippus*, but according to my selfe. Since Philosophie could never find any way for tranquillity, that might be generally good, let every man in his particular seeke for it. To whom are *Cæsar* and *Alexander* beholding for that infinite greatnes of their renowne, but to fortune? How many men hath she suppressed in the beginning of their progresse, of whom we have no knowledge at all, who bare the same courage that others did, if the ill fortune of their chance had not staied them even in the building of their enterprises? Amongst so many and so extreame dangers (to my remembrance) I never read, that *Cæsar* received any hurt. A thousand have dyed in lesse danger, than the least of those he escaped. Many worthy exploits and excellent deedes must be lost, before one can come to any good. A man is not alwaies upon the top of the breach, nor in the front of an army, in the sight of his Generall, as upon a stage.

Mon-taigne's  
life a  
quiet one

'Our  
glory is  
the testi-  
mony of  
our con-  
science'

A man may be surpris'd betweene a hedge and a ditch. A man is sometimes put to his sodaine shifts, as to try his fortune against a Hens-roost, to ferret out foure seely shotte out of some barne, yea and sometimes straggle alone from his troupes; and enterprise, according as necessity and occasion offereth it selfe. And if it be well noted (in mine advice) it will be found, and experience doth teach it, that the least blazoned occasions, are the most dangerous; and that in our late home-warres, more good men have perished in slight and little importing occasions, and in contention about a small cottage, than in worthy atchievements, and honourable places. Who so thinketh his death ill employed, except it be in some glorious exploit, or famous attempt, in lieu of dignifying his death, he happily obscureth his life: Suffering in the meane time many just and honor-affoording oportunities to escape, wherein he might and ought adventure himselfe. And all just occasions are glorious enough; his owne conscience publishing them sufficiently to all men. *Gloria nostra est testimonium conscientie nostrae* (2 Cor. i. 12. AUG. Hom. xxxv.): *Our glory is the testimony of our conscience.* He that is not an honest man, but by that which other men know by him, and because he shall the better be esteemed, being knowne to be so, that will not do well but upon condition his vertue may come to the knowledge of men; such a one is no man from whom any great service may be drawne, or good expected.

*Credo ch' il resto di quel verno, cose  
 Facesso degne di tenerne conto,  
 Ma fur fin' a quel tempo si nascose,  
 Che non è colpa mia s' hor' non le conto,  
 Per che Orlando a far' opre virtuose  
 Piu ch' à narrare poi sempre era pronto;  
 Ne mai fu alcun' de li suoi fatti espresso,  
 Senon quando hebbe i testimonii appresso.*

—ARIOST. *Orl. can. xi. stan. 81.*

Contentment the  
 reward  
 of well-  
 doing

I guesse, he of that winter all the rest  
 Atchiev'd exploits, whereof to keepe account,  
 But they untill that time were so suppress,  
 As now my fault t'is not, them not to count,  
 Because Orlando ever was more prest  
 To doe, than tell deeds that might all surmount.  
 Nor was there any of his deeds related  
 Unlesse some witness were associated.

A man must goe to warres for his devoirs  
 sake, and expect this recompence of it, which  
 cannot faile all worthy actions, how secret so-  
 ever; no not to vertuous thoughts: It is the  
 contentment that a well disposed conscience  
 receiveth in it selfe, by well doing. A man  
 must be valiant for himselfe and for the ad-  
 vantage he hath to have his courage placed in  
 a constant and assured seate, to withstand all  
 assaults of fortune.

*Virtus repulsæ nescia sordida,  
 Intaminatis fulget honoribus:  
 Nec sumit aut ponit securas  
 Arbitrio popularis aure.—HOR. Car. ili. Od. ii. 17.*

Vertue unskill'd to take repulse that's base,  
 In undefiled honors clearely shines,  
 At the dispose of peoples airy grace  
 She signes of honor tak's not, nor resignes.

Folly of  
esteem-  
ing the

It is not only for an exterior shew or ostentation, that our soule must play her part, but inwardly within our selves, where no eyes shine but ours: There it doth shroud us from the feare of death, of sorrowes and of shame: There it assureth us, from the losse of our children, friends and fortunes; and when oportunitie is offerd, it also leades us to the dangers of warre. *Non emolumento aliquo, sed ipsius honestatis decore* (Cic. Fin. i.): *Not for any advantage, but for the gracefulness of honestie it selfe.* This benefit is much greater, and more worthie to be wished and hoped, then honor and glory, which is nought but a favorable judgement that is made of us. We are often driven to empanell and select a jury of twelve men out of a whole countrie to determine of an acre of land: And the judgement of our inclinations and actions (the weightiest and hardest matter that is) we referre it to the idle breath of the vaine voice of the common sort and base raskalitie, which is the mother of ignorance, of injustice, and inconstancie. Is it reason to make the life of a wise man depend on the judgement of fooles? *An quidquam stultius, quam quos singulos contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos?* (ÆLIAN. Var. Hist. ii. c. 1). *Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke that al together they are oughts, whom every one single you would set at noughts?* Whosoever aimeth to please them, hath never done: It is a But, that hath neither forme nor holdfast. *Nil tam inestimabile est, quam animi multitudinis:* *Nothing is so incomprehensible to*

*be just waied, as the mindes of the multitude.* Demetrius said merrily of the common peoples voice, that he made no more reckoning of that which issued from out his mouth above, then of that which came from a homely place below; and saith moreover: *Ego hoc judico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id à multitudine laudetur* (Cic. Fin. Bon. ii.): Thus I esteeme of it, if of it selfe it be not dishonest, yet can it not but be dishonest, when it is applauded [by] the many. No art, no mildnesse of spirit might direct our steps to follow so stragling and disordered a guide. In this breathie confusion of brutes, and frothy Chaos of reports and of vulgar opinions, which still push us on, no good course can be established. Let us not propose so fleeing and so wavering an end unto our selves. Let us constantly follow reason: And let the vulgar approbation follow us that way, If it please: And as it depends all on fortune, we have no law to hope for it, rather by any other way then by that. Should I not follow a strait path for its straightnesse, yet would I do it because experience hath taught me, that in the end, it is the happiest and most profitable. *Dedit hoc providentia hominibus munus, ut honesta magis juvarent.* Mans providence hath given him this gift, that honest things should more delight and availe him. The ancient Sailer said thus to Neptune in a great storme, *Oh God, thou shalt save me if thou please, if not, thou shalt lose me; yet will I keepe my helme still fast.* I have, in my daies, seene a thousand [milde], mungrell and

applause  
 of the  
 multitude

Too much care for praise  
 ambiguous men, and whom no man thought to  
 be more worldly-wise than my selfe, loose them-  
 selves, where I have saved my selfe.

*Risi successu posse carere dolos.*

—OVID. *Epist. Penel.* v. 18.

I smild to see that wily plots  
 Might want successe (and leave men sots.)

*Paulus Æmilius* going to the glorious expedi-  
 tion of *Macedon*, advertized the people of *Rome*  
 during his absence, not to speake of his actions:  
 For *The licence of Judgements is an especiall let in*  
*great affaires.* Forasmuch as all men have not  
 the constancy of *Fabius* against common, con-  
 trary and detracting voices: who loved better  
 to have his authority dismembred by mens vaine  
 fantasies, then not to performe his charge so well,  
 with favourable and popular applause. There is  
 a kind of I know not what naturall delight, that  
 man hath to heare himselfe commended, but wee  
 yeeld too too much unto it.

*Laudari haud metuam, neque enim mihi cornea fibra est,  
 Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso  
 Euge tuum et belle*——

—PERS. *Sat.* i. 47.

Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not  
 horne,  
 But that the utmost end of good should be, I  
 scorne,  
 Thy O well said, well done, well plaid.

I care not so much what I am with others, as I  
 respect what I am in my selfe. I will bee rich by  
 my selfe, and not by borrowing. Strangers see but  
 externall apparances and events: every man can set

a good face upon the matter, when within he is full of care, griefe and infirmities. They see not my heart, when they looke upon my outward countenance. There is great reason the hypocrisie that is found in war should be discovered: For, what is more easie in a man of practise, then to flinch in dangers and to counterfeit a gallant and a boaster when his heart is full of faintnesse, and ready to droope for feare? There are so many waies to shunne occasions for a man to hazard himselfe in particular, that wee shall have deceived the world a thousand times, before we need engage our selves into any perilous attempt; and even when wee find our selves entangled in it, wee shall not want skill how to cloake our sport with a good face, stearne countenance, and bold speeches; although our heart doe quake within us. And hee that had the use of the Platonicall Ring, whose vertue was to make him invisible that wore it upon his finger, if it were turned toward the flat of the hand; many would hide themselves, when they should most make shewe of their worth, and would be sorie to be placed in so honorable a place, where necessity may be their warrant of safetie.

The  
inward  
and the  
outward  
man

*Falsus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret  
Quem nisi mendosum et mendacem?*

—Hor. i. *Epi.* xvi. 39.

False honour tickles; false defame affrights,  
Whom, but the faulty, and [falcified] sprights?

See how all those judgements, that men make



Pioneers of outward apparances, are wonderfully uncertaine and doubtfull, and there is no man so sure and horse a testimony, as every man is to himselfe: How boys as many horse-boyes have we in them as parteners brave and companions of our glory? He that keepes as their officers his stand in an open trench, what doth he more, but divers poore pioners doe as much before him, who open the way for him, and with their bodies shelter him, for poore six-pence a day, and happily for lesse?

—*non quicquid turbida Roma  
Elevet, accedas, examénque improbum in illa  
Castiges trutinâ, nec te quæsiweris extrâ.*

—*PERRA, Sat. i. 5.*

If troublous *Rome* set ought at naught, make you not one,  
Nor chastise you unjust examination  
In balance of their lode:  
Nor seeke your selfe abroad.

We call that a magnifying of our name, to extend and disperse the same in many mouthes, we will have it to be received in good part, and that it's increase redound to his benefit: This is al that is most excusable in it's desseigne: But the infirmity of it's excesse proceeds so farre, that many labour to have the world speake of them, howsoever it be. *Tregus Pempeius* saith of *Herostratus*, and *Titus Livius* of *Manlius Capitolinus*, that they were more desirous of great, then good reputation. It is an ordinary fault; we endeavour more that men should speake of us, then how and what they speake, and it sufficeth us, that our name run in mens mouthes,

in what manner soever. It seemeth that to be knowen, is in some sort, to have life and continuance in other mens keeping. As for me, I hold that I am but in my selfe; and of this other life of mine, which consisteth in the knowledge of my friends, being simply and barely considered in my selfe, well I wot, I neither feele fruite or jovissance of it, but by the vanity of fantastick opinion. And when I shall be dead, I shall much lesse have a feeling of it: And shall absolutely lose the use of true utilities, which sometimes accidentally follow it: I shall have no more fastnesse to take hold on reputation, nor whereby it may either concerne or come unto mee. For, to expect my name should receive it: First I have no name that is sufficiently mine: Of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea and also to others. There is a family at *Paris*, and another at *Montpellier*, called *Montaigne*, another in *Britany*, and one in *Xaintogne*, surnamed *dela-Montaigne*. The removing of one ofely syllable may so confound our webbe, as I shall have a share in their glory, and they per. <sup>was</sup> a part of my shame. And my Ancestors have here-to-fore beene surnamed *Higham*, or *Eyquem*, a surname which also belongs to a house well knowen in *England*. As for my other name, it is any bodies that shall have a minde to it. So shall I happily honour a Porter in my stead. And suppose I had a particular marke or badge for my selfe, what can it marke when I am no more extant? May it desseigne or favour inanity?

Montaigne's name

Chances  
of war

—*nunc levior cippus non imprimit ossa?*  
*Laudat posteritas, nunc non è manibus illis,*  
*Nunc non è tumulto fortunæque favillâ*  
*Nascuntur violæ?* —*Ibid.* 37.

Doth not the grave-stone on such bones sit light?  
 Posterity applaudes: from such a spright,  
 From such a tombe, from ashes blessed so,  
 Shall there not violets (in Cart-lodes) grow?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As for the rest, in a whole battell, where ten thousand are either maymed or slaine, there are not per-adventure fifteene that shall be much spoken off. It must be some eminent greatnes, or important consequence, that fortune hath joyned unto it, to make a private action prevaile, not of a meane shot alone, but of a chieftaine: For, to kill a man, or two, or tenne; for one to present himselfe undantedly to death, is indeed something to every one of us in particular; for, a mans free-hold goes on it: But in regarde of the world, they are such ordinary things, so many are daily seene, and so sundry alike must con-curre together to produce a notable effect, that wee can looke for no particular commendation by them.

—*casus multis hic cognitus, ac jam*  
*Tritus, et è medio fortunæ ductus acervo.*

—*JUVEN. Sat. xiii. 9.*

This case is knowne of many, worne with nothing,  
 Drawne from the midle heape of fortunes doting.

Of so many thousands of worthie-valiant men,  
 which fifteene hundred yeares since have died  
 in *France*, with their weapons in hand, not one

hundred have come to our knowledge: The memory not onely of the Generals and Leaders, but also of the battels and victories lieth now low-buried in oblivion. The fortunes of more then halfe the world, for want of a register, stirre not from their place, and vanish away without continuance. Had I all the unknowne events in my possession, I am perswaded I might easily supplant those that are knowne in all kindes of examples. What? Of the Romanes themselves, and of the Grecians, amongst so many writers and testimonies, and so infinit rare exploités and matchles examples: How are so few of them come to our notice?

Unknown  
and  
forgotten  
bravery

*Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 646.

Scarcely to us doth passe  
Fames thin breath, how it was.

It shall be much, if a hundred yeares hence, the civill warres which lately we have had in *France*, be but remembred in grosse. The Lacedemonians as they were going to their battles, were wont to sacrifice unto the Muses, to the end their deedes might be well written, and worthily registred; deeming it a divine favor, and unusuall grace, that noble actions might finde testimonies able to give them life and memory. Thinke we that at every shot that hits us, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, to have a Clarke present to enrole it: And besides, it may be, that a hundred Clarkes shall write them, whose Commentaries shall not con-

The few known to fame continue three daies, and shall never come to any bodies sight. We have but the thousandth part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to her favor gives them either shorter or longer life; and what we have, we may lawfully doubt-of, whether it be the worse, since we never saw the rest. Histories are not written upon every small trifle: It is requisite that a man have beene conqueror of an Empire, or of a Kingdome; a man must have obtained two and fiftie set battles, and ever with a lesser number, as *Cesar* was and did. Tenne thousand good-fellowes, and many great Captaines have died most valiantly and coragiously in pursuite of her, whose names have continued no longer then their wives and children lived:

—*quos fama obscura recondit.*

—VIRG. *Aen.* v. 292.

Whom fame obscure before  
Layes up in unknowne store.

Even of those, whom we see to doe excellently well, if they have but once continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of them, then if they had never bin. Whosoever shall in due measure proportion, and impartially consider, of what kinde of people, and of what deedes the glory is kept in the memory of bookes, he shall finde, there are few actions, and very few persons, that may justly pretend any right in them. How many vertuous men have we scene to survive their owne reputation, who even in their presence

Virtue  
its own  
reward

have seen the honor and glorie, which in their young daies, they had right-justly purchased, to be cleane extinguished? *And doe we for three yeares of this fantasticall and imaginarie life, lose and forgoe our right and essentiall life, and engage our selves in a perpetuall death?* The wiser sort propose a right-fairer, and much more just end unto themselves, to so urgent and weighty an enterprise. *Rectè facti, fecisse merces est: Officiū fructus, ipsum officium est* (SENEC. *Epist.* lxxxix.). *The reward of well doing, is the doing, and the fruit of our duty, is our duty.* It might peradventure be excusable in a Painter, or other artificer, or also in a Rhetorician, or Gramarian, by his labours to endeavor to purchase a name: But the actions of vertue are themselves too-too noble, to seeke any other reward, then by their own worth and merit, and especially to seeke it in the vanity of mans judgement. If this false-fond opinion doe notwithstanding serve and stead a common wealth to hold men in their dutie: If the people be thereby stirred up to vertue: If Princes be any way touched, to see the world blesse and commend the memorie of *Trajan*, and detest the remembrance of *Nero*: If that doth moove them, to see the name of that arch-villaine, heretofore so dreadfull and so much redoubted of all, so boldly cursed, and so freely outraged, by the first scholer that undertakes him. Let it hardly be increased, and let us (as much as in us lieth) still foater the same amongst ourselves. And *Plato* employing all meanes to make his Citizens yertuous, doth also

**Deus ex machina** persuade them, not to contemne the peoples good estimation. And saith that through some divine inspiration it commeth to passe, that even the wicked know often, as well by word, as by opinion, how to distinguish justly the good from the bad. This man together with his master, are woonderfull and bold workemen, to joyne divine operations and revelations, wheresoever humane force faileth. And therefore did per-venture *Timon* (deeming thereby to wrong him) surname him the great forger of miracles. *Ut tragici poetæ confugiunt ad Deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt* (Cic. Nat. Deor. i.). *As Poets that write Tragedies have recourse to some God, when they cannot unfold the end of their argument.* Since men by reason of their insufficiencie cannot well pay themselves with good lawfull coine, let them also employ false mony. This meane hath beene practised by all the law-givers: And there is no common wealth where there is not some mixture either of ceremonious vanity or of false opinion, which as a restraint serveth to keepe the people in awe and dutie. It is therefore, that most of them have such fabulous grounds and trifling beginnings, and enriched with supernaturall mistyries. It is that which hath given credit unto adulterate and unlawfull religions, and hath induced men of understanding to favour and countenance them. And therefore did *Numa* and *Sertorius*, to make their men have a better believe, feed them with this foppery; the one, that the Nymph *Egeria*, the other that his white Hinde, brought him all

the counsels he tooke from the Gods. And the same authoritie, which *Numa* gave his lawes under the title of this Goddesses patronage, *Zoroastres* Law-giver to the Bactrians and Persians, gave it to his, under the name of the God *Oromaxis*: *Trismegistus* of the Ægyptians, of *Mercury*: *Zamolxis* of the Scithians, of *Vesta*: *Charondas* of the Chalcedonians, of *Saturne*: *Mimos* of the Candiots, of *Jupiter*: *Licurgus* of the Lacedemonians, of *Apollo*: *Dracon* and *Solon* of the Athenians, of *Minerva*. And every common wealth hath a God to her chiefe: al others falsly, but that truly, which *Moses* instituted for the people of *Jewry* descended from *Ægypt*. The Bedoins religion (as saith the Lord of *Jovinile*) held among other things that his soule which among them all died for his Prince went directly into another more happy body, much fairer and stronger than the first: by means wherof, they much more willingly hazarded their lives for his sake.

Gods of  
the Law-  
givers

*In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces  
Mortis: et ignavum est redditura parcere vita.*

—LUCA. i. 461.

Those men sword minded, can death entertaine,  
Thinke base to spare the life that turnes againe.

Loe here, although very vaine, a most needfull doctrine, and profitable believe. Everie Nation hath store of such examples in it selfe. But this subject would require a severall discourse. Yet to say a word more concerning my former purpose: I doe not counsell Ladies



The  
worth of  
intention

any longer to call their duty, honour: *ut enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari famâ gloriosum* (Cic. Fin. ii.); *For as custome speakes, that only is called honest which is glorious by popular report.* Their duty is the marke; their honour but the barke of it. Nor doe I perswade them to give us this excuse of their refusall, in payment; for I suppose, their intentions, their desire, and their will, which are parts wherein honour can see nothing, forasmuch as nothing appeareth outwardly there, are yet more ordered then the effects.

*Quæ, quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit.*

—OVID. *Am.* iii. *El.* iv. 4.

She doth it, though she do it not,  
Because she may not doe't (God wot.)

The offence both toward God, and in conscience, would be as great to desire it, as to effect the same. Besides they are in themselves actions secret and hid; it might easily be, they would steale some one from others knowledge, whence honour dependeth, had they no other respect to their duty, and affection, which they beare unto chastity, in regard of it selfe. *Each honorable person chuseth rather to lose his honour, then to forgoe his conscience,*

## CHAP. XVII

## Of Presumption

THERE is another kind of glory, which is an over-good opinion we conceive of our worth. It is an inconsiderate affection, wherewith wee cherish our selves, which presents us unto our selves other then we are. As an amorous passion addeth beauties, and lendeth graces to the subject it embraceth, and maketh such as are therewith possessed, with a troubled conceit, and distracted Judgement, to deeme what they love, and finde what they affect, to bee other, and seeme more perfect, then in trueth it is. Yet would I not have a man, for feare of offending in that point, to misacknowledge himselfe, nor thinke to bee lesse then hee is: A true Judgement should wholly and in every respect mainetaine his right. It is reason, that as in other things, so in this subject he see what truth presenteth unto him. If he be *Cesar*, let him hardly deeme himselfe the greatest Captaine of the world. We are nought but ceremonie; ceremonie doth transport us, and wee leave the substance of things; we hold-fast by the boughs, and leave the trunke or body: Wee have taught Ladies to blush, onely by hearing that named, which they nothing feare to doe. Wee dare not call our members by their proper names, and feare not to employ them in all kind of dissoluteness. Ceremonie forbids us by words to

A well-balanced judgment

Laws of expresse lawfull and naturall things; and we ceremony beleewe it. Reason willeth us to doe no bad or unlawfull things, and no man giveth credit unto it. Here I find my selfe entangled in the lawes of Ceremonie, for it neither allows a man to speake ill or good of himselfe. Therefore will wee leave her at this time. Those whom fortune (whether we shall name her good or bad) hath made to passe their life in some eminent or conspicuous degree, may by their publike actions witnessse what they are; but those whom she never employed, but in base things, and of whom no man shall ever speake, except themselves doe it, they are excusable, if they dare speake of themselves to such as have interest in their acquaintance, after the example of *Lucilius*:

*Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim  
Credabat libris: neque si male, cesserat usquam,  
Decurrens aliò, neque si bene: quo fit, ut omnis  
Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ  
Vita senis.*—HOR. Ser. ii. Sat. i. 30.

He trusted to his booke, as to his trusty friend  
His secrets, nor did he to other refuge bend,  
How ever well, or ill, with him his fortune went.  
Hence is it, all the life is seene the old man spent,  
As it were in a Table noted,  
Which were unto some God devoted.

This man committed his actions and imaginations to his paper, and as he felt, so he pourtraied himselfe: *Nec id Rutilio et Scauro extra fidem, aut obtretationi fuit* (CORN. TACIT. Vit. Jul. Agric.). Nor was that without credit, or any imputation to Rutilius or Scaurus. I remember

then; that even from my tenderest infancy, some noted in me a kind of I know not what fashion in carrying of my body and gestures, witnessing a certaine vaine and foolish fiercenesse. This I will first say of it, that it is not inconvenient to have conditions so peculiar, and propensions so incorporated in us, that we have no meane to feele, or way to know them. And of such naturall inclinations, unknowne to us, and without our consent, the body doth easily retaine some signe or impression. It was an affectation witting of his beauty, which made *Alexander* to bend his head a little on one side, and *Alcibiades*, his speech somewhat effeminate and lisping: *Iulius Cesar* was wont to scratch his head with one finger, which is the countenance of a man surcharged with painefull imaginations: And *Cicero* (as I remember) had gotten a custome to wryth his Nose, which signifieth a naturall scoffer. Such motions may unawares and imperceptibly possess us. Others there be which are artificiall, whereof I will not speake. As salutations, reverences, or conges, by which some doe often purchase the honour, (but wrongfully) to be humble, lowly, and courteous: A man may be humble through glory. I am very prodigall of cappings, namely in Summer, and I never receive any from what quality of men soever, but I give them as good and as many as they bring, except he be some servant of mine. I wish that some Princes whom I know, would be more sparing, and impartiall dispensers of them, for, being so indiscreetly employed, they have

Mon-  
taine's  
bearing

Montaigne  
apt to under-  
value

no force at all: If they be without regard, then are they without effect. Amongst disordered countenances, let us not forget the sterne looke of *Constantius* the Emperour, who in publike held ever his head bolt-upright, without turning or bending the same on any side, no not so much as to looke on them that saluted him sideling, holding his body so fixt and unmoveable, that let his Coche shake never so much, he kept still up-right: he durst never spit nor wipe his Nose nor drie his face before the people. I wot not whether those gestures, which were noted in me were of this first condition, and whether in truth I had any secret propension to this fault, as it may well be: and I cannot answer for the motions of my body. But concerning those of the soule, I will here ingenuously confesse what I thinke of them. There are two parts in this glory: Which is to say, for a man to esteeme himselfe overmuch, the other, not sufficiently to esteeme of others. For the one, first me thinkes, these considerations ought somewhat to be accounted of. I feele my selfe surcharged with one error of the mind, which both as bad, and much more as importunate, I utterly dislike. I endeavour to correct it; but I cannot displace it. It is, because I abate the just value of those things, which I possesse; and enhance the worth of things, by how much they are more strange, absent and not mine owne. This humor extends it selfe very farre, as doth the prerogative of the authority, wherewith husbands looke upon their owne wives with a vicious disdain, and many

fathers upon their children: So doe I, and between two like workes would I ever weigh against mine. Not so much that the jealousie of my preferment, and amendment troubleth my judgement, and hindereth me from pleasing my selfe, as that mastery her self begets a contempt of that which a man possesseth and oweth: Policies, far customes and tongues flatter me; and I perceive the Latine tongue by the favour of her dignity to deceive me, beyond what belongs unto her; as children and the vulgar sort. My neighbours oeconomic; his house, and his horse, though but of equall value, is more worth then mine, by how much more it is not mine owne. Besides, because I am most ignorant in mine owne matters: I admire the assurance, and wonder at the promise, that every man hath of himselfe: whereas there is almost nothing, that I wot I know, nor that I dare warrant my selfe to be able to doe. I have not my faculties in proposition, or by estate, and am not instructed in them but after the effect: As doubtfull of mine owne strength, as uncertaine of anothers force. Whence it followeth, if commendably I chance upon any one piece of worke, I rather impute it to my fortune, then ascribe it to mine industry; forasmuch as I designe them all to hazard, and in feare. Likewise I have this in generall, that of all the opinions, which Antiquity hath had of men in grose, those which I most willingly embrace, and whereon I take most hold, are such as most vilifie, contemne, and annihilate us. Me thinks

the  
worth of  
his own  
posses-  
sions

Montaigne's  
study is  
Man

Philosophy hath never better cardes to Shew, then when she checketh our presumption, and crosseth our vanity; when in good sooth she acknowledgeth her irresolution, her weakenesse and her ignorance. Me seemeth the over good conceit, and selfe-weening opinion man hath of himselfe, is the nurse-mother of the falsest opinions, both publike and particular. Those which a cocke-horse will pearch themselves upon the *Epicicle* of *Mercury*, and see so farre into heaven, they even pull out my teeth. For in the study which I professe, the subject whereof is Man, finding so extreme a varietie of judgements, so inextricable a labyrinth of difficulties one upon the necke of another, so great diversitie, and so much uncertaintie, yea even in the Schoole of wisdom it selfe: you may imagine since those men could never be resolved of the knowledge of themselves and of their owne condition, which is continually before their eyes, which is ever within them; since they know not how that moveth, which themselves cause to move, nor how to set forth the springs, and decipher the wards, which themselves hold and handle, how should I thinke of the true cause of the flux and reflux of the river *Nilus*? The curiosity to know things hath beene given to men (as saith the holy Scripture) for a scourge. But to come to my particular, it is very hard (mee seemeth) that some other regardeth himselfe lesse, yea and some other esteemeth me lesse then I esteeme my selfe. I accompt my selfe of the common sort except in that I deeme

my selfe guiltie of the basest, and culpable [of the] most popular defects: but not disavowed nor excused. And I only prise my selfe, wherein I know my worth. If any glory be in me, it is but superficially infused into me; by the treason of my complexion: and hath no solide body appearing to the sight of my judgement. I am but sprinckled over, but not throughly dyed. For in truth, touching the effects of the spirit, in what manner soever, there never came any thing from me, that contented me. And others approbation is no currant payment for me. My judgement is tender and hard especially in mine owne behalf. I feele my self to waver and bend through weaknesse: I have nothing of mine owne to satisfie my judgement. My sight is indifferently cleare and regular; but if I take any serious worke in hand, it is troubled and dimmed: as I perceive most evidently in Poesie: I love it exceedingly: I have some insight or knowledge in other mens Labours, but in truth I play the Novice when I set my hand unto it: Then can I not abide my selfe. A man may play the foole every where else, but not in Poesie.

Montaigne  
and  
Poesie

—*mediocribus esse poetis*

*Non dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ.*

—HOR. *Art. Poet.* 372.

Nor Gods, nor men, nor pillars gave the graunt,  
That Poets in a meane, should meanelly chaunt.

I would to God this sentence were found in the front of our Printers or Stationers shops, to hinder the entrance of so many bald-rimers.



The  
poetry of  
Dionysius

—*verum*  
*Nil, securius est malo Poeta.*—MART. xii. Epig. lxiv.  
Nothing securer may be had,  
Then is a Poet bold and bad.

Why have we no such people? *Dionysius* the father esteemed nothing in himselfe so much as his poesie. In the times of the Olimpikè games, with chariots exceeding all other in magnificence, he also sent Poets and Musicians to present his verses, with tents and pavilions gilt and most sumptuously tapistred. When they first beganne to rehearse them, the favour and excellencie of the pronounciation did greatly allure the peoples attention: but when they beganne to consider the fondnesse of the composition, they fell as soone to contemne them: and being more and more exasperated fell furiously into an uprore, and headlong ranne in most spitefull manner to teare and cast downe all his pavillions. And forasmuch as his rich chariots did no good at all in their course, and the ship which carried his men, returning homeward missed the shore of *Sicilie*, and was by violent stormes driven and spilt upon the coast of *Tarentum*, they certainly beleevd, the wrath of the Gods to have beene the cause of it, as being greatly offended, both against him, and his vile and wicked Poeme: yea and the Mariners themselves that escaped the shipwracke did much second the peoples opinion: to which the Oracle that foretold his death seemed in some sort to subscribe: which implied, that *Dionysius* should be neare his end, at what time he had vanquished those that should

be of more worth than himselfe: Which he interpreted to be the Carthaginians, who exceeded him in might. And having at any time occasion to fight or grapple with them, that he might not incurre the meaning of his prediction, he would often temper and avoide the victorie. But he mis-understood the matter, for the God observed the time of advantage, when as through partiall favour and injustice he obtained the victory over the tragicall Poets at *Athens*, who were much better than he was, where he caused in contention of them, his Tragedie, entituled the *Lenciens*, to be publikely acted. After which usurped victorie, he presently deceased: And partly through the excessive joy, he thereby conceived. What I finde excusable in mine, is not of it selfe and according to truth: but in comparison of other compositions, worse then mine, to which I see some credit given. I envie the good happe of those, which can applaude and gratifie themselves by their owne labours; for it is an easie matter for one to please himselfe, since he drawes his pleasure from himselfe: Especially if one be somewhat constant in his owne wilfulnessse. I know a Poetaster, gainst whom both weake and strong, in company and at home, both heaven and earth, affirme and say, he hath no skill or judgement in Poesie, who for all that is nothing dismaied, nor will not abate one jote of that measure whereunto he hath fitted himselfe; but is ever beginning againe, ever consulting anew, and alwaies persisting; by so much the mote fixed in his opinion, by how much the

The  
end of  
Dionysius

more it concerneth him alone, and he only is to maintaine it. My compositions are so farre from applauding me, that as many times as I looke them over so often am I vexed at them.

Montaigne  
not  
satisfied  
with his  
writings

*Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,  
Me quoque qui feci, iudice, digna lini.*

—OVID. *Pont.* i. c. vi. 15.

When I re-read, I shame I write; for much I see,  
My selfe, who made them, being judge, blotted  
to be.

I have ever an Idea in my mind, which presents me with a better forme, then that I have already framed, but I can neither lay hold on it, nor effect it. Yet is that Idea but of the meaner stamp. I thereby conclude, that the productions of those rich and great mindes of former ages, are farre beyond the extreame extention of my wish and imagination. Their compositions doe not only satisfie and fill me, but they astonish and wrap me into admiration. I judge of their beauty, I see it, if not to the end, at least so farre as it is impossible for me to aspire unto it. Whatsoever I undertake (as *Plutarke* saith of one) I owe a sacrifice to the Graces, hoping thereby to gaine their favour.

—*si quid enim placet,  
Si quid dulces hominum, sensibus influit,  
Debentur lepidis omnia gratiis.*

If ought doe please, if any sweet  
The sense of men with pleasures greet,  
To thanke the Graces it is meet.

They altogether forsake me: What I doe, it

is but bunglingly, and wants both polishing and beauty. I can rate them at no higher value, then they are worth. My workmanship addeth no grace unto the matter. And that's the reason I must have it strong, with good holdfast, and shining of it selfe. If I chance to seize on any popular and more gay, it is to follow me, who love not a ceremonious prudence and gloomy wisdom, as doth the world; and to glad my selfe, not my stile, who would rather have it grave and severe: If at least I may call that a stile, which is a formelesse and abrupt speech; A popular gibbrish, and a proceeding without definition, without partition, and sans conclusion, troubled as that of *Amasianus*, and *Rabirius*. I can neither please, nor glad, nor tickle. The best tale in the world comming into my hands, becomes withered and tarnished. I cannot speake but in good earnest, and am altogether barren of that facility which I see in many of my companions, to entertaine [first comers] to keep a whole troupe in talk, to amuse a Princes eares with all manner of discourses and never to be weary, and never to want matter, by reason of the graces they have in applying their first approaches, and fitting them to the humour and capacity of those they have to do withall. Princes love not greatly serious and long discourses, nor I to tell tales. The first and easiest reasons (which are commonly the best taken) I can neither employ nor make use of them. I am an ill Orator to the common sort. I speake the utmost I know of all matters.

nor with  
his  
oratory

Montaigne's  
language

*Cicero* thinks, in discourses of Philosophy, the exordium to be the hardest part: If it be so, I wisely lay hold on the conclusion. Yet should a man know how to turne his strings to all aires: And the sharpest comes ever [least] in play. There is at [least] as much perfection in raising up an empty, as to uphold a weighty thing: A man must sometimes handle matters but superficially, and at other times dive into them. I wot well that most men keep themselves on this low stage, because they conceive not of things but by the outward shew. I also know, that the greatest Clarkes, yea *Xenophon* and *Plato*, are often seene to yeeld to this low and popular fashion, in speaking of matters, upholding it with those graces, which they never want. As for the rest, my language hath neither facility nor fluency in it, but is harsh and sharpe, having free and unshinnowy dispositions. And so it liketh me, if not by my judgement, yet by my inclination. But yet I perceive that sometimes I wade too farre into it, and that forcing my selfe to avoide art and affectation, I fall into it another way.

—*brevis esse labore:*

*Obscurus fo.*—*HOR. Art. Poet.* 25.

To be short labour I?  
I darker grow thereby.

*Plato* saith, that either long or short, are not properties, that either diminish or give price unto speech. If I should undertake to follow this other smoothe, even and regular stile, I

should never attaine unto it. And although the cadences, and breakings of *Salust*, doe best agree with my humour, yet doe I finde *Cesar* both greater, and lesse easie to be represented. And if my inclination doth rather carrie mee to the imitation of *Senecaes* stile, I omit not to esteeme *Plutark* much more. As well in silence as in speech, I am simply my naturall forme, whence happily ensueth, that I am more in speaking than in writing. The motions and actions of the body, give life unto words, namely in them that move roundly and without affectation, as I doe, and that will be earnest. Behaviour, the face, the voice, the gowne, and the place, may somewhat endear those things, which in themselves are but meane, as prating. *Messala* complaineth in *Tacitus* of certaine strait garments used in his time, and discommendeth the fashion of the benches whereon the Orators were to speak, saying, they weakened their eloquence. My French tongue is corrupted both in the pronuntiation, and else-where by the barbarisme of my country. I never saw man of these hither-countries, that did not evidently taste of his home-speech, and who often did not wound those eares, that are purely French. Yet is it not because I am so cunning in my *Perigordin*. For I have no more use of it, than of the Dutch, nor doe I greatly care. It is a language (as are many others round about me) like to that of *Poitou*, *Xaintogns*, *Angoulesme*, *Limosin*, and *Avergne*, squattering, dragling, and filthie. There is about us, toward the mountaines, a

His  
speech

Union of  
soul and  
body

Gascoine tongue, which I much commend and like, sinnovie, pithie, short, significant, and in truth man-like and military, more than any other I understand. As compendious, powerfull, and pertinent as the French is gracious, delicate, and copious. As for the Latine, which was given me for my mother-tongue; by reason of discontinuance, I have so lost the promptitude of it, as I cannot well make use of it in speech, and scarcely in writing, in which I have heere-tofore beene so ready, that I was called a master in it. Loe heere my little sufficiencie in that behalfe. *Beauty is a part of great commendation in the commerce and societie of men.* It is the chiefe meane of reconciliation betweene one and other. Nor is there any man so barbarous, and so hard-hearted, that in some sort feeleth not himselfe stricken with her sweetnes. The body hath a great part in our being, and therein keepes a speciall rancke: For, his structure and composition are worthy due consideration. Such as goe about to sunder our two principall parts, and separat them one from another, are much to blame: They ought rather to be coupled and joyned fast together. The soule must be enjoined not to retire her selfe to her quarter, nor to entertaine her selfe apart, nor to despise and leave the body (which she cannot well doe, except it be by some counterfained, apish tricke) but ought to combine and cling fast unto him, to embrace, to cherish, assist, correct, perswade and advise him, and if hee chance to swarve or stray, then to leade and direct him:

In fine, she should wed and serve him in stead of a husband, that so their effects may not seeme contrary and divers, but agreeing and uniforme. Christians have a particular instruction concerning this bond, for they know that Gods justice alloweth this society, and embraceth this conjunction of the body and soule, yea so farre as to make the body capable of everlasting rewards. And that God beholds the whole man to worke, and will have him entirely to receive either the punishment, or the recompence, according to his demerits. The Peripatetike Sect (of all Sects the most sociable) attributeth this onely care unto wisdom, in common to procure and provide, the good of these two associated parts: And declareth other Sects to have partialized overmuch, because they had given themselves to the full consideration of this commixture; this one for the body, this other for the soule, with one like error and oversight, and had mistaken their subject, which is Man; and their guide, which in generall they avouched to be Nature. The first distinction, that hath beene amongst men, and the first consideration, that gave preheminences to some over others, it is very likely it was the advantage of beauty.

Early  
appreciation  
of  
physical  
beauty

—*agros divisere atque dudere*

*Pro facie cujusque et viribus ingenioque:*

*Nam facies multum valuit, virésque vigebant.*

—LUCR. v. 1120.

They lands divided and to each man shared  
As was his face, his strength, his wit compared,  
For face and strength were then  
Much prized amongst men.



Montaigne's  
stature

I am of a stature somewhat under the meané. This default hath not only uncomlinesse in it, but also incommoditie : Yea even in those which have charge and commandement over others ; For, the authoritie which a faire presence and corporall majestie endoweth a man withal is wanting. *Caius Marius* did not willingly admit any Souldiers in his bands, that were not six foot high. The Courtier hath reason to require an ordinary stature in the Gentleman he frameth, rather, than any other : and to avoid all strangenesse that may make him to be pointed-at : But if he misse of this mediocritie, to chuse that he rather offend in lownes, then in tallnes. I would not do it in a militarie man. Little men (saith *Aristotle*) are indeed pretie, but not beauteous, nor goodly : and in greatnes, is a great soule knowne, as is beautie in a great and high body. The Ethiopians and Indians (saith he) in chusing of their Kings and Magistrates, had an especiall regard to the beautie and tallnes of the persons. They had reason, for it breedeth an awfull respect in those that follow him, and a kind of feare in his enemies, to see a goodly, tall and handsome man march as chiefe and Generall in the head of any armie, or front of a troupe :

*Ipsæ inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus  
Vertitur, arma tenens, et toto vertice supra est.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 725.

*Turnus*, a goodly man, mongst them that led,  
Stood arm'd, then all they higher by the head.

Our great, divine and heavenly King, al whose circumstances ought with much care, religion

and reverence to be noted and observed, hath not refused the bodies commendation. *Speciosus formâ præ filiis hominum (Psal. xlv. 3).* In favor beautiful above the sonnes of men. And *Plato* wisheth beaütie to be joyned unto temperance and fortitude in the preservers of his Commonweath. Is it not a great spite, if being amongst your owne servants, a stranger commeth to your selfe to aske you where your Lord or Master is? And that you have nothing but the remainder of a capping, which is as well put off to your Barber, or to your Secretarie? As it happened to poore *Philopemen*, who having left his company behind, and comming alone into a house where he was expresly looked-for, his hostes who knew him not, and saw him to be so il-favored a fellow, employed him to helpe her maides draw water, and to mend the fire for the service of *Philopemen*. The Gentlemen of his traine being come and finding him so busily at worke (for he failed not to fulfil his hostesses commandement) enquired of him what he did, who answered, *I pay the penaltie of my unhandsomnesse.* Other beauties are for women. The beaütie of a handsome comely tallnesse is the only beaütie of men. Where lownesse and littlenesse is, neither the largenesse or roundnesse of a forehead nor the whitenes or lovelinesse of the eyes, nor the pretty fashion of a nose, nor the slendernes of the eare, littlenesse of the mouth, order and whitenesse of teeth, smooth thicknesse of a beard, browne like a chesse-nut, well-curl'd and upstanding haire,

Penalty  
of being  
short

Montaigne's  
appearance

just proportion of the head, freshnes of colour, the cheereful aspect of a pleasing face, the sweet-smelling of a body, nor the well decorated composition of all limmes, can make a handsome beautilous man. As for me, I am of a strong and well compacted stature, my face is not fat but full, my complexion betweene joviall and melancholy, indifferently sanguine and hot.

*Unde rigent setis mihi crura, et pectora villis:*

—MART. VI. *Epig.* lvi. 1

Whereby my legs and brest,  
With rough haire are opprest.

My health is blith and lustie, though well-stroken in age, seldome troubled with diseases: Such I was, for I am now engaged in the approches of age, having long since past over forty yeares.

*—minutatim vires et robur aduatum*

*Frangit, et in partem pejorem liquitur atas.*

—LUCA. II. 1140.

By little and a little age breakes strength,  
To worse and worse declining melt at length.

What hereafter I shall be, will be but halfe a being, I shall be no more my selfe. I daily escape, and still steale my selfe from my selfe:

*Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes.*

—HOR. II. *Epist.* II. 55.

Yeares as they passe away,  
Of all our things make pray.

Of addressing, dexteritie, and disposition, I never had any, yet am I the son of a well disposed father, and of so blithe and merry a disposition, that it continued with him even to his extreamest age. He seldome found any

man of his condition, and that could match him in all exercises of the body; As I have found few, that have not out-gon me, except it were in running, wherein I was of the middle sort. As for musicke, were it either in voice, which I have most barsh, and very unapt, or in instruments, I could never be taught any part of it. As for dancing, playing at tennis, or wrestling; I could never attaine to any indifferent sufficiencie; but none at all in swimming, in fencing, in vaulting, or in leaping. My hands are so stiffe and nummie, that I can hardly write for my selfe, so that what I have once scribled, I had rather frame it a new, than take the paines to correct it; and I reade but little better. I perceive how the audiorie censureth me: Otherwise I am no bad cfarke. I cannot very wel close up a letter; nor could I ever make a pen. I was never good carver at the table. I could never make readie nor arme a Horse: Nor handsomely array a Hawke upon my fist, nor cast her off, or let her flie, nor could I ever speake to Dogges, to Birds, or to Horses. The conditions of my body are, in fine, very well agreeing with those of my minde, wherein is nothing lively; but onely a compleate and constant vigor. I endure labour and paine, yet not very well, unlesse I carry my selfe unto it, and no longer than my desire leadeth and directeth me.

His  
accom-  
plish-  
ments

*Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem.*

—Ser. ii. Sa. ii. 12.

While earnestnesse for sport or gaine,  
Sweetly deceiv's the sowrest paine,

Freedom  
and quiet-  
ness

Otherwise, if by any pleasure I be not allured, and if I have other direction, than my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never fadge well: For I am at such a stay, that except for health and life, there is nothing I will take the paines to fret my selfe about, or will purchase at so high a rate, as to trouble my wits for it, or be constrained thereunto.

—*Tanti mihi non sit opaci  
Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur aurum.*  
—JUVEN. Sat. iii. 54.

So much I weigh not shadow *Tagus* sande,  
Nor gold that routes into the sea from land.

I am extreamele lazie and idle, and exceedingly free, both by nature and art. I would as willingly lend my blood as my care. I have a minde free and altogether her owne; accustomed to follow her owne humor. And to this day never had nor commanding nor forced master. I have gon as farre, and kept what pace pleased me best. Which hath enfeebled and made me unprofitable to serve others, and made me fit and apt but onely for my selfe. And as for me, no man ever needed to force this heavie, lither, and idle nature of mine: For, having even from my birth found my selfe in such a degree of fortune, I have found occasion to stay there: (An occasion notwithstanding, that a thousand others of mine acquaintance would have taken as a plancke to passe over to search, to agitation and to unquietnes.) And as I have sought for nothing, so have I taken nothing.

*Non agimur tumidis ventis Aquilone secundo,  
Non tamen adversis etatem ducimus austris:  
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,  
Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.*

—HOR. II. *Epist.* II. 201.

With full sailes, prosp'rous winde, we do not drive,  
Nor yet with winde full in our teeth doe live.  
In strength, in wit, in vertue, shape, goods, place,  
Last of the first, before the last we pace.

of Mon-  
taigne's  
life

I have had no need but of sufficiencie to content my selfe: Which being well taken is ever a regiment for the mind, equally difficult in all sorts of condition; and which by use, we see more easily found in want, than in plenty; peradventure, because that according to the course of our other passions, the greedinesse of riches is more sharpened by their uses than by their need: and the vertue of moderation more rare, than that of patience. And I have had no need, but to enjoy those goods quietly, which God of his bounty had bestowed upon me. I have tasted no kinde of tedious trouble. I have seldome mannaged other than mine owne businesse: Or if I have, it hath been upon condition, I might do it at my leisure, and according to my will, committed unto me, by such as trusted me, and knew me well, and would not importune me; For, the skilfull rider, wil reape some service of a restie and wind-broken jade. My very Childehood hath beene directed by a soft, milde, gentle and free fashion, and ever exempted from rigorous subjection. Al which hath endowed me with a delicate kinde of complexion, and made me incapable of any care: So that I love, men

Montaigne no lover of keeping accounts, should conceale my losses from me, and the disorders which concerne me. In the Chapter of my charges and expences, I have set downe what my negligence or carelesnesse costs me, both to feed and entertaine my selfe.

*—hæc nempe supersunt,  
Quæ dominum fallant, quæ prosint furibus.*

—HOR. i. *Eplis.* vi. 45.

This remnant of accompts I have,  
Which may deceive Lords, help a Knave.

I love not to know an accompt of what I have, that I may lesse exactly feeble my losses: I desire those that live with me, where they want affection, or good effects, to cozen and pay me with good apparances. For want of sufficient constancy to endure the importunity of contrary or crosse accidents, whereunto we are subject; and because I cannot alwaies keepe my selfe prepared to governe and order my affaires; as much as I am able, I foster this opinion in me, relying wholly upon fortune, and ready to take every thing at the worst, and resolve to beare that worst, mildely and patiently. About that only doe I busie my selfe, and to that end do I direct all my discourses. In any dangerous matter, I care not so much how I may avoide it, and how little it importeth whether I avoide it or no; And what were it if I would continue in it? Being unable to direct events, I governe my selfe; and if they apply not themselves to me, I apply my selfe to them: I have no great art to shunne fortune, and how to scape or force

it, and with wisdom to address matters to my liking: I have also lesse sufferance to endure the sharpe and painefull care, which belongeth to that. And the most toilesome state for me, is to be doubtful in matters of weight, and agitated between feare and hope. To deliberate, be it but in slight matters, doth importune me. And I feel my spirit more perplexed to suffer the motions of doubt, and shakings of consultation, than to be settled and resolved about any accident whatsoever, after the chance is once cast. Fewe passions have troubled my sleepe; but of deliberations the least doth trouble it. Even as of high-waies, I willingly seeke to avoid the downe-hanging, and slippery, and take the beaten-path, though myrie, and deepe, so I may go no lower, and there seeke I safety: So love I pure mishaps, and which exercise and turmoile me no more, after the uncertaintie of their mending: And which even at the first cast, drive me directly into sufferance.

nor of  
making  
decisions

—*dubia plus torquent mala.*

—*SEN. Agam. act. iii. sc. i. 29.*

Evils yet in suspence,  
Doe give us more offence.

In events, I carry my selfe man-like; in the conduct childishly. The horror of a fall doth more hurt me, than the blow. The play is not worth the candle. The covetous man hath a worse reckoning of his passion, than the poore; and the jealous man, than the cuckold. And it is often lesse harme for one to loose his farme, than pleade and wrangle for it: *The slowest*



Chi va *march, is the safest.* It is the seate of con-  
 piano va stancie. Therein you have no need but of your  
 sano selfe. There she takes her footing and wholly  
 resteth upon her selfe. The example of a  
 Gentleman, whom many have knowne, hath  
 it not some Philosophicall shew? This man  
 having passed all his youth like a good fellow,  
 a jollie companion, a great talker, and a merry  
 ladd, being now well in yeares, would needes  
 be married. Remembring himselfe how much  
 the subject of cuckoldry had given him cause  
 to speake, and scoffe at others; to put himselfe  
 under covert-baron, he tooke him a wife from  
 out that place, where all men may have them  
 for mony, and with her made his aliance:  
 Good morrow Whoore, Good morrow Cuckold.  
 And there is nothing wherewith he oftner and  
 more openly entertain'd such as came unto him,  
 than with this tale; Whereby he brideled the  
 secret pratings of mockers, and blunted the point  
 of their reproch. Concerning ambition, which  
 is next neighbor or rather daughter to presump-  
 tion, it had beene needfull (to advance me) that  
 fortune had come to take me by the hand: For  
 to put my selfe into any care for an uncertaine  
 hope, and to submit my selfe to all difficulties,  
 waiting on such as seeke to thrust themselves into  
 credite and reputation, in the beginning of their  
 progresse, I could never have done it.

—*Spem pretio non emo,*

—*Ter. Adel. act. ii. sc. 2.*

Expence of present pay

For hope, I do not lay.

I fasten my selfe on that which I see and hold  
and go not far from the shore :

Rashness  
of risking  
a limited  
fortune

*Alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat arenas.*

—PROP. iii. *El.* ii. 23

Keepe water with one Oare,  
With th' other grate the shore.

Besides, a man seldome comes to these preferments, but in hazarding first his own: And I am of opinion, if that which a man hath, sufficeth to maintaine the condition, wherein he was borne and brought up, it is folly to let it goe upon the uncertainty of encreasing the same. He to whom fortune refuseth meanes to settle his estate and establish a quiet and reposed being, is excusable, if he cast what he hath at hazard, since thus as well as thus, necessitie sends him to shift and search out.

*Capienda rebus in malis preceps via est.*

—SEN. *Agam.* act. ii. sc. i. 47.

A headlong course is best,  
When mischiefes are address.

And I rather excuse a yonger brother, to make sale of his inheritance, than him, who hath the honor of his house in charge, who cannot fall into wants but through his default: I have by the counsell of my good frinds of former times, found the way shorter and easier to rid my selfe of this desire and keepe my selfe husht:

*Cui sit conditio dulcis, sine pulvere palma.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* i. 51.

Who like it well to beare the prise.  
But take no toile in any wise.

Effect of  
living in a  
depraved  
age

Judging also rightly of my forces, that they were not capable of great matters: And remembering the saying of Lord *Oliver*, whilome-Chaunceler of *France*, who said, that *French men might be compared to Apes, who climbing up a tree, never cease skipping from bough to bough, till they come to the highest, where they shew their bare tails.*

*Turpe est quod nequeas capiti committere pondus,  
Et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu.*

—PROP. iii. *Ele.* viii. 5.

'Tis shame, more than it can well beare, on head  
to packe,  
And thereby soone oppress't with bended knee flie  
backe.

Such qualities as are now in me void of reproch, in that age I deemed unprofitable. The facilitie of my maners had been named faintnesse and weaknes; faith and conscience wold have beene thought scrupulous and superstitious: liberty and freedome, importunate, inconsiderate and rash. Misfortune serveth to some purpose. It is not amisse to be borne in a much depraved age: for in comparison of others, you are judged vertuous, very cheape. *In our dayes, he that is but a parricide, or a sacrilegious person, is a man of honesty and honor.*

*Nunc si depositum non inficiatur amicis,  
Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine follem,  
Prodigiosa fides, et Thuscis digna libellis,  
Queque coronatâ hustrari debeat agnâ.*

—JUVEN. *Sat.* xiii. 60.

If now a friend deny not what was laid in trust,  
If wholly he restore th' old bellows with their rust:  
A wondrous trust, to be in *Chronicles* related,  
And should with sacrifice, as strange, be expiated.

*And never was there time or place, wherein more assured and great reward was proposed unto Princes for goodnesse and justice.* The first that shall be advised, by these meanes to thrust himselfe into favour and credit, I am much deceived if in part of paiment, he get not the start of his fellowes. Force and violence can do very much; but never all. Wee see Merchants, countrey-Justices, and Artificers to march cheeke by joll with our Nobilitie, in valour, and militarie discipline. They performe honourable combates, both publike and private. They batter and defend Townes and Cities in our present warrea. A Prince smothereth his commendation amid this throng. *Let him shine over others with humanitie, with truth, loyaltie, temperance and above all with justice; markes now adaies rare, unknowne and exiled.* It is only the peoples will, wherewith he may effect what he pleaseth: And no other qualities can allure their will so much as they, as being the profitablest for them. *Nihil est tam popolare quam bonitas: Nothing is so popular as goodnesse is.* By this proportion I had beene a rare great man: As by that of certaine ages past, I am now a pigmey and popular man; In which it was common, if stronger qualities did not concurre with all, *To see a man temperate in his revenges, milde in revenging of offences, religious in keeping of his word; neither double, nor over tractable, nor applying his faith to others will, or to every occasion.* I would rather let all affaires go to wracke, than breake my word for their availe. For, touching this

Nothing  
 so popular  
 as  
 goodness

Hateful-  
ness of  
dissimu-  
lation

new-found vertue of faining and dissimulation, which now is so much in credit, I hate it to the death: and of all vices, I finde none that so much witnesseth demissenesse and basenesse of heart. It is a coward and servile humour, for a man to disguise and hide himselfe under a maske, and not dare to shew himselfe as he is. Thereby our men addressse themselves to trecherie: *Being trained to utter false words, they make no conscience to breake them.* A generous minde ought not to belie his thoughts, but make shew of his inmost parts: There al is good, or at least all is humane. *Aristotle* thinkes it an office of magnanimitie to hate and love openly, to judge and speake with all libertie; and never (though the prise of truth goe on it) to make esteeme either of the approbation or reprobation of others. *Apollonius* said, it was for servants to lie, and for freemen to speake truth. It is the chiefe and fundamentall part of vertue. Shee must be loyed for her owne sake. *He that speaketh truth, because he is bound to doe so, and for that he serveth: and that feares not to tell a lie, when it little importeth another man, is not sufficiently true.* My mind of her own complexion detesteth falshood, and hateth to think on it. I feele an inward bashfulness, and a stinging remorse, if at any time it scape me; as sometimes it doth, if unpremeditated occasions surprise me. *A man must not alwaies say all he knowes, for that were follie: But what a man speakes ought to be agreeing to his thoughts,* otherwise it is impiety. I know not what benefit they expect, that ever faine, and so uncessantly

dissemble; except it be not to be beleev'd, even when they speak truly. That may deceive men once or twice, but to make a profession to cary it away smoothly, and as some of our Princes have done, to boast, that if their shirt were privie to their secret and true cogitations, they wold burne it: which was the saying of ancient *Metellus Macedonicus*; And that he who cannot dissemble, cannot raign, serves but only to warne those who have to dealé with them, that what they say is but untruth and dissimulation. *Quo quis versutior et callidior est, hoc invisior et suspectior, detracta opinione probitatis* (Cic. Off. i.). The finer-headed, and more subtle-brained a man is, the more is he hated and suspected, if once the opinion of honesty be taken from him. It were great simplicity for a man to suffer himself to be miss-led either by the lookes or words of him, that outwardly professeth what he is not inwardly, as did *Tiberius*. And I know not what share such people may challenge in the commerce of men, never producing any thing, that may be taken for good paiment. *He who is disloyall to truth, is likewise false against lying*. Such as in our daies, in the establishing of a Princes dutie, have only considered the good and felicitie of his affaires, and preferred the same before the respect of his faith and conscience, would say something to a Prince, whose affaires fortune hath so disposed, that with once breaking and falsifying of his word, he might for ever confirme and establish them. But it goeth otherwise. A man may more than once comie to

Truth  
in high  
places

Flattery such a bargain. A man during his life concludes more than one peace or treatie. The uncommodity or profit that inviteth them to the first disloyalty (and daily some offer themselves; as to all other trecheries) sacrileges, murders, rebellions, treasons, are undertaken for some kinde of profit. But this first gaine brings ever infinite losses and dangers with it: casting this Prince from-out all commerce and meanes of negotiation, by the example of this infidelitie. *Soliman* of the Ottomans race (a race little regarding the keeping of promises or performance of covenants) at what time he caused his Armie to land at *Otranto* (I being then but a childe) having knowne that *Mercurin* of *Gratinara*, and the inhabitants of *Castro*, were detained prisoners, after the towne was yeilded, contrary to that which by his Captaines had beene capitulated with them, he sent word they should be released, and that having other weighty enterprises in hand in that countrey, such disloyalty, although it had apparance of great and present benefit, yet in time to come it would bring a distrust and reproch of infinite prejudice. As for me, *I had rather be importunate and indiscreet, than a flatterer and a dissembler.* I allow, a man may entermingle some point of fiercenesse and wilfulnesse, to keepe himselfe so entire and open as I am, without consideration of others. And mee seemeth I become a little more free, where I should be lesse, and that by the opposition of respect I grow earnest. It may also be, that for want of Art I follow mine owne nature. Presenting

to the greater sort the very same licence of speech and boldnes of countenance, that I bring from my house: I perceive how much it inclineth towards indiscretion and incivilitie. But although I be so fashioned, my spirit is not sufficiently yeelding to avoid a sudden question, or to scape it by some winding, nor to dissemble a truth, nor have I memory able to continue it so fained, nor assurance sufficient to maintaine it; and I play the Braggard through feeblenesse. And therefore I apply my selfe to ingenuitie, and ever to speake truth and what I think, both by complexion and by intention; leaving the successe thereof unto fortune. *Aristippus* said, that the chiefest commoditie he reaped by Philosophy, was, that he spake freely and sincerely to all men; Memory is an instrument of great service, and without which, judgement wil hardly discharge his duty, wherof I have great want. What a man will propose unto me, he must doe it by peece-meales: For, to answer to a discourse that hath many heads, lieth not in my power. I cannot receive a charge, except I have my writing tables about me: and if I must remember a discourse of any consequence, be it of any length, I am driven to this vile and miserable necessitie, to learne every word I must speake by rote; otherwise I should never do it wel or assuredly, for feare my memory should in my greatest need faile me; which is very hard unto me, for I must have three houres to learne three verses. Moreover in any long discourse, the libertie or authoritie to remove the order, to change a

His  
want of  
memory



**Montaigne's lack of self-control** word, uncessantly altering the matter, makes it more difficult to be confirmed in the authors memory. And the more I distrust it, the more it troubleth me. It serveth me better by chance, and I must carelesly sollicite her, for if I urge her, she is astonished; and if it once beginne to waver, the more I sound her, the more entangled and intricate she proveth. She wil wait upon me when she list, not when I please. And what I feele in my memorie, I feele in many other parts of mine. I eschew commandement, duty, and compulsion. What I doe easily and naturally, if I resolve to doe it by expresse and prescribed appointment, I can then doe it no more. Even in my body, those parts, that have some liberty, and more particular jurisdiction, doe sometimes refuse to obey me, if at any time I appoint and enjoin them to doe me some necessarie services. This forced and tyrannicall pre-ordinance doth reject them, and they either for spight or feare shrinke and are quailed. Being once in a place, where it is reputed a barbarous discourtesie not to pledge those that drinke to you, where although I were used with al libertie, in favor of certain Ladies that were in company, according to the fashion of the country, I would needs play the good fellow. But it made us all mery; for the threats and preparation, that I should force my selfe beyond my naturall custome, did in such sort stop, and stuffe my throat, that I was not able to swallow one drop, and was barr'd of drinking all the repast. I found my selfe gluttet and ful of drink by the overmuch

swilling that my imagination had fore-conceived. **Uncon-**  
 This effect is more apparant in those, whose **scious**  
 imagination is more vehement and strong: yet it **skill**  
 is naturall: and there is no man, but shall some-  
 times have a feeling of it. An excellent Archer  
 being condemned to death, was offered to have  
 his life saved, if he would but shew any notable  
 triall of his profession, refused to make prooffe of  
 it; fearing les the contention of his will should  
 make him to misse-direct his hand, and that in  
 lieu of saving his life, he might also lose the re-  
 putation he had gotten in shooting in a bow. A  
 man whose thoughts are busie about other matters,  
 shall very neere within an inch keepe and alwaies  
 hit one selfe same number and measure of paces,  
 in a place where he walketh; but if heedily he  
 endeavour to measure and count them, he shall  
 finde that what he did by nature and chance,  
 he cannot doe it so exactly by deassign. My  
 Library (which for a countrey Library, may  
 passe for a very faire one) is seated in a corner  
 of my house: if any thing come into my minde,  
 that either I must goe seeke or write in it, for  
 feare I should forget it in crossing of my Court,  
 I must desire some other body to remember the  
 same for me. If speaking, I embolden my selfe  
 never so little to digresse from my Discourse,  
 I doe ever lose it; which makes me to keepe  
 my selfe in my speech, forced, neere and close.  
 Those that serve me, I must ever call them,  
 either by their office or countrey: for I finde  
 it very hard to remember names. Well may  
 I say, it hath three syllables, that it's sound is

Memory  
is the  
shrine of  
all know-  
ledge

harsh, or that it beginneth or endeth with such a letter. And should I live long, I doubt not but I might forget mine own name, as some others have done heretofore. *Messala Corvinus* lived two yeeres without any memory at all, which is also reported of *George Trapezoncius*. And for mine owne interest, I doe often ruminat what manner of life theirs was, and whether wanting that part, I shall have sufficient to maintaine my selfe in any good sort: which looking neere unto, I feare that this defect, if it be perfect, shall lose all the functions of my soule.

*Plenus rimarum sum, hâc atque illâc perfluo.*

—TER. *Eun.* act. i. scen. 2.

I am so full of holes, I cannot hold,  
I runne out ev'ry way, when tales are told.

It hath often befallen me, to forget the word, which but three houres before I had either given or received of another, and to forget where I had laid my purse; let *Cicero* say what he list. I helpe my selfe to loose, what I particularly locke up. *Memoria certe non modo Philosophiam, sed omnis vite usum, omnesque artes una maxime continet.* Assuredly memorie alone, of all other things, compriseth not onely Philosophy, but the use of our whole life, and all the sciences. Memorie is the receptacle and case of knowledge. Mine being so weake, I have no great cause to complaine if I know but little. I know the names of Arts in Generall, and what they treat of, but nothing further. I turne and tosse over bookes, but do

not studie them; what of them remaines in me, is a thing which I no longer acknowledge to be any bodies' else. Onely by that hath my judgement profited: and the discourses and imaginations, wherewith it is instructed and trained up. The authours, the place, the words, and other circumstances, I sodainly forget: and am so excellent in forgetting, that as much as any thing else I forget mine owne writings and compositions. Yea, mine owne sayings are every hand-while alleadged against my selfe; when God wot I perceiue it not. He that would know of me, whence or from whom the verses or examples, which here I have huddled up are taken, should greatly put me to my shifts, and I could hardly tell it him. Yet have I not begged them, but at famous and very wel knowen gates, which though they were rich in themselves, did never please me, unlesse they also came from rich and honourable hands, and that authority concurre with reason. It is no great marvell, if my booke follow the fortune of other bookes; and my memory forgo or forget as wel what I write, as what I read: and what I give, as well as what I receive. Besides the defect of memory, I have others, which much further my ignorance. My wit is dull and slow, the least cloud dimmeth it, so that (for example sake) I never proposed riddle unto it (were it never so easie) that it was able to expound. There is no subtilitie so vaine, but confounds me. In games, wherein wit may beare a part, as of chesse, of cards, of tables and others, I could never conceiue but the common

**Montaigne's  
forgetfulness  
of his  
writings**

Montaigne  
confesses  
his ignorance

and plainest draughts. My apprehension is very sluggish and gloomy; but what it once holdeth, the same it keepeth fast: and for the time it keeps it, the same it embraceth generally, strictly and deeply. My sight is quicke, sound, perfect and farre-seeing, but easily wearied, if much charged or employed. By which occasion I can have no great commerce with books but by others service which reade unto me. *Plinie* the yonger can instruct those that have tri'd it, how much this fore-slowing importeth those that give themselves to this occupation. There is no spirit so wretched or so brutish, wherein some particular facultie is not seene to shine; and none so low buried, but at one hole or other it will sally out sometimes. And how it commeth to passe, that a minde blinde and slumbering in all other things, is in some particlar effects, lively, cleare and excellent, a man must inquire of cunning masters. But those are the faire spirits, which are universall, open, and readie to all, if not instructed, at least to be instructed. Which I alleage to accuse mine: For, be it either through weaknesse, or retchlesnesse (and to be carelesse of that which lieth at our feet, which wee have in our hands, which nearest concerteth the use of life, is a thing farre from my Dogma or Doctrine) there is none so simple or so ignorant as mine, in divers such common matters, and of which without imputation or shame a man should never be ignorant; whereof I must needs tell some examples. I was borne and brought up in the Countrie, and amidst husbandry: I have

since my predecessours quit me the place and possession of the goods I enjoy, both businesse and husbandry in hand. I cannot yet cast account either with penne or Counters. There are divers of our French Coines, I know not: nor can I distinguish of one graine from another, be it in the field or in the barne, unlesse it be very apparant: nor do I scarcely know the difference betweene the Cabige or Lettice in my Garden. I understand not the names of the most usuall tooles about husbandrie, nor of the meanest principles of tillage, which most children know. I was never skilfull in Mechanicall arts, nor in Traffike or knowledge of Merchandize, nor in the diversitie and nature of fruits, wines, or cates, nor can I make a Hawke, physick a Horse, or teach a Dogge. And since I must make ful shew of my shame or ignorance, it is not yet a moneth since, that I was found to be ignorant, wherto Leven served to make bread withal; or what it was to cunne Wine. The *Athenians* were anciently wont to thinke him very apt for the *Mathematikes*, that could cunningly order or make up a faggot of brushe wood. Verily a man might draw a much contrarie conclusion from me: For let me have all that may belong to a Kitchin, yet shall I be ready to starve for hunger. By these partes of my confession, one may imagine divers others, to my cost and detriment. But howsoever I make my selfe knowne, alwaies provided it be as I am indeed, I have my purpose. And I excuse not my selfe, that I dare set downe in writing, so base and frivolous

of many  
common  
things

Why matters as these. The basenesse of the subject should not a writer reveal himself: forceth me thereunto. Let who so list accuse my project, but not my progresse. So it is that without being warned of others, I see very well how little this weigheth or is worth, and I perceive the fondnesse of my purpose. It is sufficient that my Judgement is not dismayed or distracted, whereof these be the *Essaies*.

*Nasutus sis usque licet, sis denique nasus  
Quantum noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas:  
Et possis ipsum tu deridere Latinum,  
Non potes, in nugas dicere plura meas,  
Ipe ego quam dixi: quid dentem, dante juvabit  
Roderi? carne opus est, si satur esse velis.  
Ne perdas operam, qui se mirantur, in illos  
Virus habe; nos hæc novimus esse nihil.*

—MART. xiii. *Epig.* ii. 1.

Suppose you were long nos'd, suppose such nose you weare

As *Atlas*, if you should intreat him, would not beare,

That you in flouting old *Latinus* can be fine,

Yet can you say no more against these toys of mine,

Then I have said; what boote, tooth with a tooth to whet?

You must have fleshe, if you to glut your selfe be set.

Loose not your paines; 'gainst them who on themselves are doting

Keepe you your sting: we know these things of ours are nothing.

I am not bound to utter no follies, so I be not deceived to know them: And wittingly to erre, is so ordinarie in me, that I erre not much otherwise; and seldome erre casually. It is a small

matter to yeeld the fond actions unto the rashnesse of my humors, since I cannot warrant my selfe ordinarily to yeeld them the vicious. Being at *Barleduc*, I saw, for the commendation of *Renate* the King of *Sicilies* memory a picture which with his owne hands he had made of himselfe, presented unto our King *Francis* the second: why is it not as lawfull for every man else to pourtray himself with his pen, as it was for him to doe it with a pensell? I will not then forget this blemish, unfit to be seene of all. That is irresolution: a most incommodious defect in the negotiation of worldly affaires: I cannot resolve in matters admitting doubtfullnesse:

for a painter may paint himself?

*Ne si, me nò, nel cuor mi suona intiero.*

—PETR. pa. i. son. cxxxviii. 8.

Nor yea, nor nay, sounds clearely in my heart.

I can maintaine an opinion, but not make choise of it: For in humane things, what side soever a man leaneth on, many apparances present themselves unto us, which confirm us in them: and *Chrysippus* the Philosopher was wont to say; that he would learn nothing else of his maisters *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, but their doctrines simply: For, proofes and reasons he would finde enough of himselfe. Let me turne to what side I will, I ever finde sufficient matter, and likly-hood to keepe my selfe unto it. Thus keepe I doubt and liberty to my selfe, to chuse, untill occasion urge me, and then (to confesse the truth) as the common saying is, I cast my feather to the wind, and yeeld to fortunes mercie. A verie



Decision light inclination, and a slender circumstance carries  
by lot me away.

*Dum in dubio est animus paulo momento huc atque illuc  
impellitur.*—TER. *And.* act. i. scen. 3.

While mind is in suspence, with small a doe,  
T'is hither, thither, driven fro and to.

The uncertainty of my judgement, is in many occurrences so equally ballanced, as I would willingly compromise it to the deciding of chance and of the dice. And I note with great consideration of our humane imbecillitie, the examples, which the history of God it selfe hath left us of this use, to remit the determination of elections in doubtfull matters, unto fortune and hazard: *Sors cecidit super Matthiam* (Act. i. 26). *The lot fell upon Mathias. Humane reason is a two-edged dangerous sword; Even in Socrates his hand, her most inward and familiar friend, marke what a many-ended staffe it is. So am I only fit to follow, and am easily caried away by the throng. I doe not greatly trust mine owne strength, to undertake to command, or to lead. I rejoyce to see my steps traced by others. If I must runne the hazard of an uncertaine choise, I would rather have it be under such a one, who is more assured of his opinions, and more wedded to them, then I am of mine; the foundation and platforme of which, I find to be very slippery; yet am I not very easie to change, forsomuch as I perceive a like weaknesse in contrary opinions. Ipsa consuetudo assentiendi periculosa esse videtur, et lubrica* (Cic. *Acad. Qu.*

iv.) : *The very custome of assenting seemeth hazardous and slippery* : Namely in politike affaires, wherein is a large field open to all motions, and to contestation.

No argument is unanswerable

*Iusta pari premitur veluti cum pondere libra,  
Prona nec hâc plus parte sedet, nec surgit ab illa.*

—TIBULL. iv. hero. v. 41.

As when an even skale with equall weight is peized,  
Nor falles it downe this way, or is it that way raised.

As for example, *Machiavels* discourses, were very solid for the subject ; yet hath it been very easie to impugne them, and those that have done, have left no lesse facilitie to impugne theirs. A man might ever find answeres enough to such an argument, both rejoynders, double, treble, quadruple, with this infinite contexture of debates, that our pettie-foggers have wrye-drawne, and wrested as much as ever they could in favour of their pleas and processes :

*Cædimur, et totidem plagis consumimus hostem.*

—HOR. ii. *Epist.* ii. 97

Wee by our foes are beaten, if not slaine,  
Wee with as many strokes waste them againe.

Reasons having no other good ground then experience, and the diversity of humane events, presenting us with infinite examples for all manner of formes. A wise man of our times, saith, that where our Almanakes say warme, should a man say cold, and in lieu of drie, moyst ; And ever set downe the contrarie of what they foretell ; were he to lay a wager of one or others successe,

**Status quo** he would not care what side he tooke, except in such things as admit no uncertaintie; as to promise extreame heat at Christmas, and exceeding cold at Midsomer. The like I thinke of these politike discourses. What part soever you are put unto, you have as good a game as your fellow: Provided you affront not the apparant and plaine principles. And therefore (according to my humor) in publike affaires, there is no course so bad (so age and constancie be joyned unto it) that is not better then change and alteration. *Our manners are exceedingly corrupted, and with a marveilous inclination bend toward worse and worse;* Of our lawes and customes many are barbarous, and divers monstrous; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficultie to reduce us to better estate, and of the danger of this subversion, if I could fixe a pegge into our wheele, and stay it where it now is, I would willingly doe it.

—*nunquam adeo fædis adcoque pudendis  
Utimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint.*

—*JUV. Sat. viii. 183.*

Examples of so filthy shamefull kinde  
We never use, but worse remaines behind.

Instabilitie is the worst I find in our state, and that our lawes, no more then our garments, can take no settled forme. *It is an easie matter to accuse a state of imperfection, since all mortall things are full of it.* As easie is it to beget in a people a contempt of his ancient observances: No man ever undertooke it, but came to an end: But to establish a better state in place of that

which is condemned and rased out, divers who have attempted it, have shronk under the burthen. Touching my conduct, my wisdome hath small share therein. I am very easily to be directed by the worlds publike order. Oh happy people, that doth what is commanded, better then they which command, without vexing themselves about causes; which suffer themselves gently to be rowled on, according to the heavens rowling. Obedience is never pure and quiet in him, who talketh, pleadeth and contendeth. In some, (to returne to my selfe) the only matter, for which I make some accompt of my selfe, is that, wherein never man did thinke himselfe defective. My commendation is vulgar, common and popular; For, who ever thought he wanted wit? It were a proposition, which in it selfe would imply contradiction. It is an infirmity, that is never where it is seene, it is very strong and fast-holding, but yet pierced and dissipated by the first beame of the patients sight, as doth the Sunnes raies scatter and disperse a gloomie mist. For a man to accuse himselfe, were to excuse himselfe of that subject; and to condemne himselfe, an absolving of himselfe. There was never so base a porter, nor so silly a woman, but thought he had sufficient wit for his provision. We easily know in others, the advantage of courage, of bodily strength, of experience, of disposition and of beautie, but we never yeeld the advantage of judgement to any body: And the reasons, which part from the simple naturall discourse in others, wee thinke, that had we but looked that way,

Happy  
are the  
obedient.

For whom does one write? wee had surely found them. The skill, the knowledge, the stile and such like parts, which we see in strange workes, we easily perceive whether they exceede ours; but the meere productions of wit and understanding, every man deemeth it lyeth in him to meete with the very like, and doth hardly perceive the weight and difficultie of it, except (and that very scarcely) in an extreame and incomparable distance. And he that should clearely see the height of a strangers judgement, would come and bring his unto it. Thus, is it a kinde of exercising, whereof a man may hope but for meane commendation and small praise, and a manner of composition, of little or no [name] at all. And then, for whom do you write? The wiser sort, unto whom belongeth bookish jurisdiction, know no other prise but of doctrine, and avow no other proceeding in our wits, but that of erudition and art. If you have mistaken one *Scipio* for another, what of any worth have you left to speake of? He that is ignorant of *Aristotle* (according to them) he is therewithall ignorant of himselfe. Popular and shallow-headed mindes, cannot perceive the grace or comelinesse, nor judge of a smooth and quaint discourse. Now these two kindes possesse the world. The third, unto whose share you fall, of regular wits, and that are strong of themselves, is so rare, that justly it hath neither name or ranke amongst us; he loseth halfe his time, that doth aspire or endeavour to please it. It is commonly said, that the justest portion, nature hath given us of the graces, is that

of sense and understanding : for there is no man, but is contented with the share she hath allotted him : Is it not reason? He who should see beyond that, should see further then his sight. I perswade my selfe to have good and sound opinions ; but who is not so perswaded of his owne? One of the best trials I have of it, is the small esteeme I make of my selfe : for, had they not beene well assured, they would easily have suffered themselves to be deceived, by the affection I beare unto my selfe, singular, as he who brings it almost all unto my selfe, and that spill but a little besides. All that, which others distribute thereof unto an infinite number of friends and acquaintances, to their glorie and greatnesse, I referre to the repose of my spirit and to my selfe. What else-where escapes of it, is not properly by the appointment of my discourse :

'I turne  
my sight  
inward'

—*mihī nempe valere et vivere doctus.*

Well learn'd in what concerneth me,  
To live, and how in health to be.

*As for my opinions, I finde them infinitely bold and constant to condemne mine insufficiencie.* And to say truth, it is a subject, whereabout I exercise my judgement, as much as about any other. *The world lookes ever for-right, I turne my sight inward, there I fix it, there I amuse it.* Every man lookes before himselfe, I looke within my selfe : I have no busines but with my selfe. I uncessantly consider, controle and taste my selfe: other men goe ever else-where, if they thinke well on it : they goe ever foreward,

Montaigne's  
desire  
for the  
truth

—*nemo in sese tentat descendere.*—*PERR.* Sat. iv. 23.

No man attempteth this Essay,  
Into himselfe to finde the way.

as for me I roule me into my selfe. This capacite of sifting out the truth, what, and howsoever it be in me, and this free humour I have, not very easily to subject my beliefe, I owe especially unto my selfe, for the most constant, and generall imaginations I have are those, which (as one would say) were borne with me: They are natural unto me, and wholly mine. I produced them raw and simple, of a hardy and strong production, but somewhat troubled and imperfect: which I have since established and fortified by the authoritie of others, and by the sound examples of ancients, with whom I have found my selfe conformable in judgment: Those have assured me of my hold-fast of them, and have given me both the enjoying and possession thereof more absolute and more cleare. The commendation which every man seekes after, for a vivacitie and promptitude of wit, I chalenge the same by the order of a notable and farre-sounding action, or of some particular sufficiencie; I pretend it by the order, correspondencie, and tranquillitie of opinions and customes. *Omnino si quidquam est decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam aequalitas universe vite, tum singularum actionum: quam conservare non possis, si aliorum naturam imitans, omittas tuam (Cic. Off. i.).* Clearly if any thing bee decent for a man, nothing is more

*than an even carriage and equability of his whole life, and every action therein: which you cannot uphold, if following the nature of others, you let passe your owne.* Behold here then how far forth I finde my selfe guilty of that first part, I said to be in the vice of presumption. Concerning the second, which consisteth in not esteeming sufficiently of others, I wot not whether I can so well excuse my selfe; for, whatsoever it cost mee, I intend to speake what is of it. It may be, the continuall commerce I have with ancient humours, and the Idea of those rich mindes of former ages doth bring me out of liking and distaste both of others and of my selfe, or that in truth we live in an age, which produceth things but meane and indifferent. So it is, that I know nothing worthy any great admiration. Also I know not many men so familiarly as I should, to be able to judge of them: and those with whom the quality of my condition doth ordinarily make me conversant, are for the most part, such as have little care for the manuring of the soule, and to whom nothing is proposed for chiefe felicitie, but honour; and for absolute perfection, but valour. Whatsoever I see or beauteous or worthy in any other man, I willingly commend and regard; yea and I often endear my selfe with what I thinke of it, and allow my selfe to lie so farre forth: For, I cannot invent a false subject. I willingly witnesse with my friends what I finde praise-worthy in them. And of an inch of valour, I willingly make an inch and

He loved  
not his  
own  
times



Liberty  
of judg-  
ment

a halfe; but to lend them qualities they have not, I cannot; and openly to defend their imperfections, I may not: yea, bee they mine enemies, I shall sincerely give them their due, in witnessing their worth or honour. My affection may change; my judgement never. And I confound not my quarell with other circumstances, that are impertinent and belong not unto it. And I am so jealous of the liberty of my judgement, that for what passion soever, I can hardly quit it. I wrong my selfe more in lying, than him of whom I lie. This commendable and generous custome of the Persian nation, is much noted; *They speake very honourably and justly of their mortall enemies, and with those with whom they were at deadly fude and warre, so farre forth as the merit of their vertue deserved.* I know divers men who have sundry noble and worthy parts; some wit, some courage, some dexteritie, some conscience, some a readinesse in speech, some one Science, and some another; but of a great man in generall, and that hath so many excellent parts together, or but one, in such a degree of excellencie, as hee may thereby be admired, or but compared to those of former ages whom we honour, my fortune hath not permitted me to see one. And the greatest I ever knew living (I meane of naturall parts of the minde, and the best borne) was *Stephanus de la boitie*: Verily it was a compleat minde, and who set a good face, and shewed a faire countenance upon all matters: A minde after the old stampe, and which, had fortune therewith beene

pleased, would no doubt have brought forth wondrous effects; having by skil and study added very much to his rich naturall gifts. But I know not how it comes to passe, and surely it doth so, there is as much vanitie and weaknesse of understanding found in those, that professe to have most sufficiencie, that will entermeddle with learned vacations, and with the charges that depend of books, than in any sort of people; whether it be because there is more required; and expected at their hands, and common faults cannot be excused in them, or that the selfe-opinion of knowledge emboldeneth them the more to produce and discover themselves over-forward, whereby they loose and betray themselves. As an Artificer doeth more manifest his sottishnesse in a rich piece of worke, which he hath in hand, if foolishly and against the rules of his trade he seeke to apply it and entermeddle, than in a vile and base one; and men are more offended at a fault or oversight in a statue of gold, than in one of clay. These doe as much, when they set fourth things, which in themselves and in their place, would be good; for, they employ them without discretion, honouring their memory at the cost and charge of their understanding: and doing honour to *Cicero*, to *Galen*, to *Ulpian*, and to Saint *Jerome*, to make themselves ridiculous. I willingly returne to this discourse of the fondnesse of our institution: whose aime hath beene to make us not good and wittie, but wise and learned; She hath attained her pro-

Self-pre-  
sumption  
of the  
learned

The education of the judgment pose. It hath not taught us to follow vertue and embrace wisdom; but made an impression in us of its Etymologie and derivation. *We can decline vertue, yet can we not love it.* If wee know not what wisdom is by effect and experience, wee know it by prattling and by rote. We are not satisfied to know the race, the alliances, and the pedegrees of our neighbours, but we wil have them to be our friends, and contract both conversation and intelligence with them: It hath taught us the definitions, the divisions, and distinctions of vertue, as of the surnames and branches of a genealogie, without having other care to contract practise of familiaritie or private acquaintance betweene us and it. She hath appointed us for our learning, not bookes that have sounder and truer opinions, but volumes that speake the best Greeke or latine: and amongst her choise words, hath made the vainest humours of antiquitie to glide into our conceits. *A good institution changeth judgement and manners,* as it hapned to *Polemon*. This dissolute yong Græcian, going on day by chance to heare a Lecture of *Xenocrates*, where he not onely marked the eloquence and sufficiencie of the Reader, and brought not home the knowledge of some notable thing, but a more apparant and solide fruit, which was the sodaine change and amendment of his former life. Who ever heard such an effect of our discipline?

—*faciasne quod olim*

*Mutatus Polemon, ponas insignia morbi,  
Fasciulus, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille  
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,  
Postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?*

—*Hor. Ser. ii. Sat. iii. 253.*

The  
wisdom  
of the  
simple

Can you doe as did *Polemon* reformed,  
Cast-off your sicknes signes, which you deformed,  
Your bolsters, mufflers, swathes? As he drink-  
lin'de,  
His drunken garland covertly declinde,  
By speech of fasting reader disciplinde?

The least disdainfull condition of men, me thinks, is that, which through simplicitie holds the last ranke, and offereth us more regular commerce. The customes and discourses of Countrie-clownish-men, I finde them commonly to be more conformable and better disposed, according to the true prescription of Philosophie, then are those of our Philosophers. *Plus sapit vulgus, quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit.* The vulgar is the wiser, because it is but as wise as it must needes. The worthiest men, I have judged by externall apparances (for, to judge them after my fashion, they should be sifted nearer) concerning war, and military sufficiencie, have been, the Duke of *Guise*, that died before *Orleans*, and the whilom Marshal *Strozzi*: For men extraordinarily sufficient, and endowed with no vulgar vertue, *Oliver*, and *Hospitall*, both great Chancelors of *France*. Poesie hath likewise in mine opinion, had hir vogue and credit in our age. We have store of cunning and able men in that profession,

Ronsard and du Bellay *Aurate, Beza, Buchanan, L'Hospitall, Montdore, and Turnebus.* As for French-men, I thinke they have attained the highest degree of perfection that can or ever shall be, and in those parts wherein *Ronsart*, and excellent *Bellay* have written, I thinke they are not farre short of the ancient perfection. *Adrianus Turnebus* knew more and better, what he knew, then any man in his age or of many ages past. The lives of the late Duke of *Alva*, and of our Constable *Mommorancie* have beene very noble, and have had sundrie rare resemblances of fortune. But the worthily-faire and glorious death of the last, in the full sight of *Paris*, and of his King, for their service, against his nearest friends and alliance, in the front of an armie, victorious through his conduct of it, and with an hand-stroke, in that old age of his, deserveth in mine opinion, to be placed and registred amongst the most renoumed and famous accidents of my times. As also the constant goodness, the mildnes in behaviour, and conscionable facility of *Monsieur la Noüe*, in such an injustice of armed factions (a very schoole of treason, of inhumanitie and brigandage) wherein he was ever brought up, a worthie and famous man of warre, and most experienced in his profession. I have greatly pleased my selfe in publishing in sundrie places, the good hope I have of *Marie Gournay le Jars* my daughter in alliance, and truely of me beloved with more then a fatherly love, and as one of the best parts of my being, enfeofed in my home and solitarines. There

is nothing in the world I esteeme more then Mlle. de  
 hir. If childe-hoode may presage any future Gournay  
 successe, hir minde shall one day be capable of  
 many notable things, and amongst other of the  
 perfection of this thrice-sacred amitie, where-  
 unto we read not, hir sexe could yet attaine;  
 the sinceritie and soliditie of her demeanors are  
 therein alreadie sufficient; hir kinde affection  
 towards me is more then superabounding and  
 such in deede as nothing more can be wished  
 unto it, so that the apprehension, which she  
 hath of my aproching end, by reason of the  
 fifty five yeares, wherein her hap hath beene  
 to know me, would somewhat lesse cruelly  
 trouble hir. The judgement she made of my  
 first Essayes, being a woman, of this age, so  
 yong, alone where shee dwelleth, and the ex-  
 ceeding vehemencie wherewith she loved me,  
 and long time, by the onely esteeme, which  
 before ever she saw me, she had by them con-  
 ceived of me, she desired me; is an accident  
 most worthy consideration. Other vertues have  
 had little or no currantnesse at all in this age:  
 But valour is become popular by reason of our  
 civill warres, and in this part, there are minds  
 found amongst us very constant, even to perfec-  
 tion, and in great number, so that the choise  
 is impossible to be made. Loe heere what  
 hitherto I have knowen of any extraordinary,  
 and not common greatnesse.

## CHAP. XVIII

## Of giving the lie

Writings  
of great  
soldiers

YEA but, will some tell me, this desseigne in a man to make himselfe a subject to write of, might be excused in rare and famous men, and who by their reputation, had bred some desire in others of their acquaintance. It is true, I confesse it, and I know, that a handicraftsman will scarcely looke off his worke, to gaze upon an ordinary man: Whereas to see a notable great person come into a towne, he will leave both worke and shop. It ill beseemeth any man to make himselfe knowne, onely he excepted, that hath somewhat in him worthy imitation, and whose life and opinions may stand as a patterne to all. *Cesar* and *Xenophon* have had wherewithall to ground and establish their narration in the greatnesse of their deedes, as on a just and solid ground-worke. So are the Journall bookes of *Alexander* the great, the Commentaries which *Augustus*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Sylla* and divers others had left of their gests, greatly to be desired. Such mens Images are both beloved and studied, be they either in Brasse or Stone. This admonition is most true, but it concerneth me very little.

*Non recito cuiquam: nisi amicis, idque rogatus.  
Non ubi vis, coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui  
Scripta foro recitant sunt multi, quique lavantes.*

—HOR. Ser. i. Sat. iv. 73.

My writings I reade not, but to my friends, to any,  
Nor each-where, nor to all, nor but desir'd: yet  
many

In Market-place read theirs,  
In Bathes, in Barbers-chaires.

Montaigne's  
purpose  
in writing

I erect not here a statue to be set up in the  
Market-place of a towne, or in a Church, or in  
any other publike place :

*Non equidem hoc studeo bullatis ut mihi nugis  
Pagina surgescat :—PERS. Sat. v. 19.*

I studie not, my written leaves should grow  
Big-swolne with bubled toyes, which vaine breath's  
blow.

*Secreti loquimur.—21.*

We speake alone,  
Or one to one.

It is for the corner of a Library, or to amuse a neighbour, a kinsman, or a friend of mine withall, who by this image may happily take pleasure to renew acquaintance, and to reconverse with me. Others have beene emboldned to speake of themselves, because they have found worthy and rich subject in themselves. I, contrariwise, because I have found mine so barren, and so shallow, that it cannot admit suspition of ostentation. I willingly judge of other mens actions; of mine by reason of their nullity, I give small cause to judge. I finde not so much good in my selfe, but I may speake of it without blushing. Oh what contentment were it unto me, to heare some body that would relate the custome, the visage, the



Montaigne's  
opinion of  
posterity

countenance, the most usuall words, and the fortunes of my ancestors. Oh how attentively would I listen unto it. Verily it were an argument of a bad nature, to seeme to despise the very pictures of our friends and predecessors, the fashion of their garments and armes. I keepe the writing, the manuell seale, and a peculiar sword: And I reserve still in my cabinet certaine long switches or wands, which my father waa wont to carry in his hand. *Paterna vestis et annulus, tanto charior est posteris, quanto erga parentes major affectus: The fathers garment and his ring is so much more esteemed of his successors, as their affection is greater towards their progenitors.* Notwithstanding if my posteritie be of another minde, I shall have wherewith to be avenged; for they cannot make so little accompt of me, as then I shal doe of them. All the commerce I have in this with the world, is, that I borrow the instruments of their writing, as more speedy, and more easie: in requitall whereof I may peradventure hinder the melting of some piece of butter in the market, or a Grocer from selling an ounce of pepper.

*Ne toga cordyllis, ne penula desit olivis,*

—MART. xiii. *Epig.* i. 1.

Lest Fish-fry should a fit gowne want,  
Lest cloakes should be for Olive scant.

*Et laxas scombris saepe dabo tunicas.*

—CATUL. *Epig. Eleg.* xxvii. 8.

To long-tail'd Mackrels often I,  
Will side-wide (paper) cotes apply.

And if it happen no man read me, have I His  
lost my time, to have entertained my selfe so writings  
many idle houres, about so pleasing and profit- are him-  
able thoughts? In framing this pourtraite by self  
my selfe, I have so often benee faine to frizle  
and trimme me, that so I might the better ex-  
tract my selfe, that the patterne is thereby con-  
firmed, and in some sort formed. Drawing  
my selfe for others, I have drawne my selfe  
with purer and better colours, then were my  
first. I have no more made my booke, then  
my booke hath made me. A booke consub-  
stantiall to his Author: Of a peculiar and fit  
occupation. A member of my life. Not of  
an occupation and end, strange and forraine, as  
all other bookes. Have I mis-spent my time,  
to have taken an account of my selfe so con-  
tinually and so curiously? For those who onely  
run themselves over by fantasie, and by speech  
for some houres, examine not themselves so  
primely and exactly, nor enter they into them-  
selves, as he doth, who makes his study his  
worke, and occupation of it: Who with all his  
might, and with all his credit engageth himselfe  
to a register of continuance. The most deli-  
cious pleasures, though inwardly digested, shun  
to leave any trace of themselves; and avoide  
the sight, not onely of the people, but of any  
other. How often hath this busines [diverted] me  
from tedious and yrksome cogitations? (And  
al' frivolous ones must be deemed tedious and  
yrksome.) Nature hath endowed us with a  
large faculty to entertaine our selves apart, and

often calleth us unto it: To teach us, that  
 taigne's *partly wee owe our selves unto society, but in*  
 essays a *the better part unto our selves.* To the end I  
 book of may in some order and project marshall my  
 confes- fantasie, even to dote, and keepe it from loos-  
 sions ing, and straggling in the aire; there is nothing  
 so good, as to give it a body, and register so  
 many idle imaginations as present themselves  
 unto it. I listen to my humors, and harken  
 to my conceits, because I must enroule them.  
 How often, being grieved at some action, which  
 civility and reason forbad me to withstand  
 openly, have I disgorged my selfe upon them  
 here, not without an intent of publike instruc-  
 tion? And yet these Poeticall rods,

*Zon dessus l'ail, zon sur le groin,  
 Zon sur le dos du Sagoin,*

are also better imprinted upon paper, than upon  
 the quicke flesh; What if I lend mine ears,  
 somewhat more attentively unto bookes, sith I  
 but watch if I can filch somthing from them,  
 wherewith to enammell and uphold mine? I  
 never studie to make a booke; Yet have I some-  
 what studied, because I had already made it (if  
 to nibble or pinch, by the head or feet, now one  
 Authour, and then another be in any sort to  
 study) but nothing at all to forme my opinions:  
 Yea being long since formed, to assist, to second  
 and to serve them. *But whom shall we believ*  
*speaking of himselfe, in this corrupted age?* since  
 there are few or none, whom we may beleeve  
 speaking of others, where there is lesse interest

The lying  
of Mon-  
taigne's  
age

to lie. The first part of customes corruption, is; the banishment of truth: For as *Pindarus* said, *to be sincerely true, is the beginning of a great vertue;* and the first article *Plato* requireth in the Governor of his Common-wealth. Nowadaies, that is not the truth which is true, but that which is perswaded to others. As we cal money not onely that which is true and good, but also the false; so it be currant. Our Nation is long since taxed with this vice. For *Salvianus Massiliensis* who lived in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperour, saith, that amongst French-men, to lie and forswear is no vice but a manner of speach. He that would endeare this Testimonie, might say, it is now rather deemed a vertue among them. Men frame and fashion themselves unto it, as to an exercise of honour; for, *dissimulation is one of the notablest qualities of this age.* Thus have I often considered, whence this custome might arise, which we observe so religiously, that we are more sharply offended with the reproach of this vice, so ordinary in us, than with any other; and that it is the extremest injury, may be done us in words, to upbraid and reproch us with a lie. Therein I find, that it is naturall, for a man to defend himselfe most from such defects as we are most tainted with. It seemeth that if we but shew a motion of revenge, or are but moved at the accusation, we in some sort discharge our selves of the blame or imputation; if we have it in effect, at least we condemne it in apparance. May it not also be, that this reproch seemes to enfold cowardise and

The liar a  
coward to  
men and  
a boaster  
to God

faintnesse of hart? Is there any more manifest, than for a man to eate and deny his owne Word? What? To deny his Word wittingly? To lie is a horrible-filthy vice; and which an ancient writer setteth forth very shamefully, when he saith, that *whosoever lieth, witnesseth that he contemneth God and therewithall feareth men.* It is impossible more richly to represent the horrour, the vilenesse and the disorder of it: For, *what can be imagined so vile, and base, as to be a coward towards men, and a boaster towards God?* Our intelligence being onely conducted by the way of the Word: Who so falsifieth the same, betraieith publik society. It is the onely instrument, by meanes wherof our wils and thoughts are communicated: it is the interpretour of our soules: If that faile us we hold our selves no more, we enter-know one another no longer. If it deceive us, it breaketh al our commerce, and dissolveth al bonds of our policie. Certaine Nations of the new *Indias* (whose names we need not declare, because they are no more; for the desolation of this conquest hath extended it selfe to the absolute abolishing of names and ancient knowledge of Places, with a marvellous and never the like heard example) offered humane bloud unto their Gods, but no other than that which was drawne from their tongues and eares, for an expiation of the sinne of lying as well heard as pronounced. That good-fellow-Græcian said, children were dandled with toies, but men with words. Concerning the sundry fashions of our giving the lie, and the lawes of our honour in

that and the changes they have received, I will refer to another time to speake what I thinke and know of it, and if I can, I will in the meane time learne, at what time this custome tooke his beginning, so exactly to weigh and precizely to measure words, and tie our honour to them: for it is easie to judge, that it was not anciently amongst the Romans and Græcians. And I have often thought it strange, to see them wrong and give one another the lie, and yet never enter into quarrell. The lawes of their duty, tooke some other course than ours. *Cæsar* is often called a thiefe, and sometimes a drunkard to his face. We see the liberty of their invectives, which they write one against another: I meane the greatest Chieftaines and Generals in war, of one and other Nation, where words are onely retorted and revenged with words, and never wrested to further consequence.

Moderation seemly in all things

## CHAP. XIX

### Of the liberty of Conscience

**I**T is ordinarily seene, how good intentions being managed without moderation, thrust men into most vicious effects. In this controversie, by which France is at this instant molested with civill warres, the best and safest side, is no doubt, that which maintaineth both the ancient religion and policy of the Country.

The loss  
of ancient  
classics

Nevertheless amongst the honest men that follow it (for my meaning is not to speake of those, who use them as a colour, either to exercise their particular revenges, or to supply their greedy avarice, or to follow the favour of Princes: But of such as do it with a true zeale toward their religion, and an unfained holy affection, to maintaine the peace and uphold the state of their country) of those I say, divers are seene, whome passion thrusts out of the bounds of reason, and often forceth them to take and follow unjust, violent and rash counsels. Certaine it is, that when first our religion beganne to gaine authoritie with the Lawes, it's zeale armed many against all sorts of Pagane bookes, whereof the learned sort have a great losse. My opinion is, that this disorder hath done more hurt to learning, than all the Barbarian flames. *Cornelius Tacitus* is a sufficient testimonie of it: for, howbeit the Emperor *Tacitus* his kinsman had by expresse appointment stored all the libraries in the World with it, notwithstanding one onely entire copy could not escape the curious search of those, who sought to abolish it, by reason of five or sixe vaine clauses, contrary to our beleefe. They have also had this easily to affoord false commendations to all the Emperours, that made for us, and universally to condemne al the actions of those, which were our adversaries, as may plainly be seene in *Julian* the Emperor, surnamed the Apostata; who in truth was a notable-rare-man, as he whose mind was lively endowed with the discourses of Philosophy, unto

which he professed to conforme all his actions; **Julian the**  
 and truly there is no kind of vertue, whereof **Apostate**  
 he hath not left most notable examples. In  
 chastity (whereof the whole course of his life  
 giveth apparant testimony) a like example, unto  
 that of *Alexander* and *Scipio* is read of him, which  
 is, that of many wonderfull faire captive Ladies,  
 brought before him, being even in the very prime  
 of his age (for he was slain by the Parthians  
 about the age of one and thirty yeares) he would  
 not see one of them. Touching justice, himselfe  
 would take the paines to heare al parties: And  
 although for curiosity sake, he would enquire of  
 such as came before him, what religion they were  
 of, nevertheles the ermitie he bare to ours, did  
 no whit weigh downe the ballance. Himselfe  
 made sundrie good Lawes, and revoked diverse  
 subsidies and impositions, his predecessours be-  
 fore him had received. We have two good His-  
 torians, as eye-witnesses of his actions. One of  
 which (who is *Marcellinus*.) in sundry places of  
 his Historie bitterly reproveth this ordinance  
 of his, by which he forbade schooles, and inter-  
 dicted al Christian Rhethoricians, and Gram-  
 marians to teach: Saying, he wished this his  
 action might be buried under silence. It is very  
 likely, if he had done any thing else more sharpe  
 or severe against us, he would not have forgot it,  
 as he that was well affected to our side. Hee  
 was indeede very severe against us, yet not a  
 cruell enemy. For, our people themselves re-  
 port this Historie of him, that walking one  
 day about the Cittie of *Calcedon*, *Maris* Bishop



Julian's  
sobriety  
and  
vigilancy

thereof, durst call him wicked and traitor to Christ, to whom he did no other thing, but answered thus: Goe wretched man, weepe and deplore the losse of thine eyes; to whom the Bishop replied, I thank Jesus Christ, that he hath deprived me of my sight, that so I might not view thy impudent face, affecting therby (as they say) a kind of Philosophicall patience. So it is, this part cannot be referred to the cruelties, which he is said to have exercised against us. He was (saith *Estropius* my other testimony) an enemy unto Christianity, but without shedding of blood. But to returne to his justice, he can be accused of nothing but of the rigors he used in the beginning of his Empire, against such as had followed the faction of *Constantius* his Predecessour. Concerning sobriety, he [ever] lived a Souldiers kinde of life, and in time of peace, would feed no otherwise, than one who prepared and enured himselfe to the austeritie of war. Such was his vigilancie, that he divided the night into three or foure parts, the least of which he allotted unto sleepe; the rest he employed in visiting the state of his army, and his guardes, or in study; for, amongst other his rare qualities, he was most excellent in al sorts of learning. It is reported of *Alexander* the Great, that being laid downe to rest, fearing lest sleepe should divert him from his thoughts and studies, he caused a bason to be set neere his bed side, and holding one of his hands out, with a brazen ball in it, that if sleepe should surprize him, loosing his fingers ends, the ball

falling into the bason, might with the noyse **Julian as**  
rouze him from out his sleep. This man had a **a soldier**  
mind so bent to what he undertook, and by reason of his singular abstinence so little troubled with vapours, that he might well have past this devise. Touching military sufficiencie, he was admirable in all parts belonging to a great Captaine. So was he almost al his life time in continual exercise of war, and the greater part with us in *France* against the *Alemans* and *French*. Wee have no great memory of any man, that either hath seene more dangers, nor that more often hath made triall of his person. His death hath some affinitie with that of *Epaminondas*, for being strucken with an arrow, and attempting to pull it out, he had surely done it, but that being sharpe-cutting, it hurt and weakened his hand. In that plight he earnestly requested to be carried forth in the middest of his army, that so he might encourage his souldiers, who without him courageously maintained the battel, until such time as darke night severed the Armies. He was beholding to Philosophie for a singular contempt, both of himselfe and of all humane things. He assuredly believed the eternitie of soules. In matters of religion, he was vicious every-where. He was surnamed *Apostata*, because he had forsaken ours; notwithstanding this opinion seemes to mee more likely, that he never took it to heart, but that for the obedience which he bare to the law, he dissembled til he had gotten the Empire into his hands. He was so superstitious in his, that even such as lived in his time,

'Thou hast conquered, oh pale Galilean!' and were of his owne religion, mocked him for it; and it was said, that if he had gained the Victory of the Parthians, he would have consumed the race or breede of Oxen, to satisfie his sacrifices. He was also besotted with the Art of sooth-saying, and gave authoritie to all manner of prognostikes. Amongst other things hee spake at his death, he said, he was much beholding to the Gods, and greatly thanked them, that they had not suffered him to be slain sodainly or by surprize, as having long before warned him both of the place and houre of his end; nor to die of a base and easie death, more beseeing idle and effeminate Persons, nor of a lingring, languishing, and dolorous death; and that they had deemed him worthy to end his life so nobly in the cours of his victories and in the flower of his glory. There had before appeared a vision unto him, like unto that of *Marcus Brutus*, which first threatned him in *Gaule*, and afterward even at the point of his death, presented it selfe to him in *Persia*. The speach he is made to speak when he felt himselfe hurt, *Thou hast vanquished oh Nazarean*; or as some wil have it, *Content thy selfe oh Nazarean*, would scarce have beene forgotten, had it beene believed of my testimonies, who being present in the army, have noted even the least motions, and words at his death, no more than certaine other wonders, which they annex unto it. But to return to my theame, he had long before (as saith *Marcellinus*) hatched Paganisme in his hart, but forsomuch as he saw al those of his

armie to be Christians, he durst not discover himselfe. In the end, when he found himselfe to be sufficiently strong, and durst publish his minde, he caused the Temples of his Gods to be opened, and by all meanes endeoured to advance idolatrie. And to attaine his purpose; having found in *Constantinople* the people very loose, and at ods with the Prelates of the christian Church, and caused them to appeare before him in his pallace, he instantly admonished them to appease all their civill dissentions, and every one without hinderance or feare apply themselves to follow and serve religion. Which he very carefully sollicitated, hoping this licence might increase the factions, and controversies of the division, and hinder the people, from growing to any unity, and by consequence from fortifying themselves against him, by reason of their concord and in one mind-agreeing intelligence: having by the cruelty of some Christians found, that *There is no beast in the world so much of man to be feared, as man*, Loe here his very words, or very neare: Wherein this is worthy consideration, that the Emperor *Julian*, useth the same receipt of libertie of conscience, to enkindle the trouble of civill dissention, which our Kings employ to extinguish. It may be said on one side, that, *To give faction the bridle to entertaine their opinion, is to scatter contention and sow division*, and as it were to lend it a hand to augment and encrease the same: There beeing no Barre or Obstacle of Lawes to bridle or hinder his course. But on the other side, it might also

Man's in-  
humanity  
to man

**Surgit  
amari  
aliquid**

be urged, that to give factions the bridle to uphold their opinion, is by that facilitie and ease, the readie way to mollifie and release them; and to blunt the edge, which is sharpened by rarenesse, noveltie, and difficultie. And if for the honour of our Kings devotion, I believe better; it is, that since they could not doe as they would, they have fained to will what they could not.

## CHAP. XX

### We taste nothing purely

**T**HE weaknes of our condition, causeth, that things in their naturall simplicitie and puritie cannot fall into our use. The elements we enjoy are altered: Metals likewise, yea golde must be empaired with some other stufte to make it fit for our service. Nor vertue so simple, which *Ariston*, *Pirrbo*, and the Stoikes, made the end of their life, hath beene able to doe no good without composition: Nor the Cirenaike sensualitie or Aristippian voluptuousnes. *Of the pleasures and goods we have, there is none exempted from some mixture of evill, and incommoditie.*

—*medio de fonte leporum*

*Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat.*

—*LUCR. IV. 1224.*

From middle spring of sweetes some bitter springs,  
Which in the very flower smartly stings,

Our exceeding voluptuousnesse hath some aire of groning and wailing : Would you not say, it dieth with anguish ? Yea when we forge it's image in hir excellencie, we deck it with Epithets of sickish and dolorous qualities : languor, effeminacy, weaknesse, fainting and *Morbidezxa*, a great testimony of their consanguinity and consubstantiality : Excessive joy hath more severity, then jolity : Extreame and full content, more settlednes then cheerefulnessse. *Ipsa felicitas, sa nisi temperat, premit (Sest. quare, etc.). Felicitie it selfe, unlesse it temper it selfe, distempers us.* Ease consumeth us. It is that, which an old Greeke verse saith of such a sense. The Gods sell us all the goods they give us ; that is to say, they give us not one pure and perfect, and which we buy not with the price of some evill. Travell and pleasure, most unlike in nature, are notwithstanding followed together by a kind of I wot not what natural conjunction ; *Socrates* saith, that some God attempted to huddle up together, and confound sorrow and voluptuousnesse : but being unable to effect it, he bethought himselfe to couple them together, at least by the taile. *Metrodorus* said, that in sadnesse there is some aloy of pleasure. I know not whether he meant any thing else, but I imagine, that for one to enure himselfe to melancholy, there is some kind of purpose, of consent and mutuall delight : I meane besides ambition, which may also be joynd unto it. There is some shadow of delicacy, and quaintnesse, which smileth and fawneth upon us, even in the lap of melancholy.

'The  
Gods sell  
us all the  
goods  
they give  
us'

Every- Are there not some complexions, that of it make  
thing has their nourishment?  
its alloy

—*est quædam flere voluptas.*

—OVI. *Trist.* iv. *El.* iii. 37.

It is some pleasure yet,  
With teares our cheekes to wet.

And one *Attalus* in *Seneca* saith, the remembrance  
of our last friends is as pleasing to us, as bitter-  
nesse in wine that is over old;

*Minister veteris puer falerni*

*Ingere mi calicem amariore:*

—CAT. *Lyr. Epi.* xxiv. 1.

Sir boy, my servitor of good old wine,  
Bring me my cup thereof bitter, but fine.

and as of sweetly-sower apples; Nature discovereth this confusion unto us: painters are of opinion, that *the motions and wrinkles in the face, which serve to weepe, serve also to laugh.* Verely, before one or other be determined to expresse which; behold the pictures successe, you are in doubt toward which one enclineth. And the extreamity of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares. *Nullum sine auctoramento malum est* (SEN. *Epiq.* lxix.). *There is no evill without some obligation.* When I imagine man fraught with all the commodities may be wished, let us suppose, al his severall members were for ever possessed with a pleasure like unto that of generation, even in the highest point that may be: I finde him to sincke under the burthen of his ease, and perceive him altogether unable to beare

so pure, so constant, and so universall a sensuality. **Man is a diversified work**  
 Truly he flies when he is even upon the nicke, and naturally hastneth to escape it, as from a step, whereon he cannot stay or containe himselfe, and feareth to sincke into it. When I religiously confesse my selfe unto my selfe, I finde the best good I have, hath some vicious taint. And I feare that *Plato* in his purest vertue (I that am as sincere and loyall an esteemer thereof, and of the vertues of such a stampe, as any other can possibly be) if he had neerely listened unto it (and sure he listened very neere) he would therein have heard some harsh tune, of humane mixture, but an obscure tune, and onely sensible unto himselfe. *Man all in all, is but a botching and party-coloured worke. The very Lawes of Justice, can not subsist without some commixture of Injustice: And Plato saith, They undertake to cut off Hydraes beades, that pretend to remooove all incommodities and inconveniences from the Lawes. Omne magnum exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra singulos utilitate publica reprehenditur (TACITUS, Ann. xiv. Cassi.). Every great example hath some touch of injustice, which is requited by the common good against particulars, saith Tacitus.* It is likewise true, that for the use of life and service of publike society, there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath overmuch subtilty and curiositie. They should be made heavy and dull, to make them the more obedient to example and practise; and they must be thickned and obscured, to proportion



A too  
scrupu-  
lous  
weighing  
of affairs

them to this shady and terrestriall life. Therefore are vulgar and lesse-wire-drawne-wits found to be more fit and happy in the conduct of affaires. And the exquisite and high-raised opinions of Philosophy, unapt and unfit to exercise. This sharp vivacity of the spirit, and this supple and restlesse volubility, troubleth our negotiations. Humane enterprises should be managed more grosely and superficially, and have a good and great part of them left for the rights of fortune. Affaires neede not bee sifted so nicely and so profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lusters and diverse formes. *Voluntatibus res inter se pugnantes, obtorpuerant animi* (Liv. dec. iv. lib. 2). *Their mindes were astonished, while they revolved things so different.* It is that which our elders report of *Simonides*; because his imagination, concerning the question *Hieron* the King had made unto him (which the better to answer he had diverse dayes allowed him to think of it) presented sundry subtill and sharpe considerations unto him; doubting which might be the likeliest; he altogether dispaireth of the truth. Whosoever searcheth al the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences therof, hindereth his election. *A meane engine doth equally conduct, and sufficeth for the executions of great and little weights.* It is commonly seene, that the best husbands and the thriftiest, are those who cannot tell how they are so; and that these cunning Arithmeticians doe seldome thrive by it. I knowe

notable pratler, and an excellent blasoner of all sorts of husbandry and thrift, who hath most pittiously let ten thousand pound sterline a yeare passe from him. I know another, who saith, he consulteth better then any man of his counsell, and there cannot be a properer man to see unto or of more sufficiencie; notwithstanding when he commeth to any execution, his own servants finde he is far otherwise: This I say without mentioning or accounting his ill lucke.

How an  
Emperor  
should  
die

## CHAP. XXI

### Against idlenesse, or doing nothing

THE Emperor *Vespasian*, lying sicke of the disease whereof he died, omitted not to endeavour to understand the state of the Empire; and lying in his bed, uncessantly dispatched many affaires of great consequence; and his Physitians chiding him, as of a thing hurtfull to his health: he answered, *That an Emperour should die standing upright.* Loe heere a notable saying, fitting my humour, and worthy a great Prince. *Adrian* the Emperour used the same afterward to like purpose. And Kings ought often to be put in minde of it, to make them feele, that this great charge, which is given them of the commandement over so many men, is no idle charge: and that there is nothing may so justly distaste a subject from putting himselfe

Princes  
should go  
to war in  
person

in paine and danger for the service of his Prince, then therewithst to see him given to lazinesse, to base and vaine occupations, and to have care of his conservation, seeing him so carelesse of ours. If any shall go about to maintaine, that it is better for a Prince to mannage his wars by others, then by himselfe; Fortune will store him with sufficient examples of those, whose Lieutenants have atchieved great enterprises; and also of some whose presence would have beene more hurtfull, then profitable. But no vertuous and coragious Prince will endure to be entertained with so shamefull instructions. Under colour of preserving his head (as the statue of a Saint) for the good fortune of his estate, they degrade him of his office, which is altogether in military actions, and declare him uncapable of it. I know one, would rather chuse to be beaten, then sleep whilst others fight for him; and who without jealousie never saw his men performe any notable act in his absence. And *Selim* the 1. had reason to say, that *he thought victories gotten in the masters absence, not to be complete.* So much more willingly would he have said, that such a master ought to blush for shame, who onely by his name should pretend any share in it, having thereunto employed nothing but his thought and verbal direction: Nor that, since in such a busines, the advises and commandements, which bring honor, are only those given in the field and even in the action. No Pilot exerciseth his office standing still. The Princes of *Otomans* race (the chiefest

race in the world in warlike fortune) have earnestly embraced this opinion. And *Bajazeth* the second with his sonne, who amusing themselves about sciences, and other private home-matters, neglected the same, gave diverse prejudiciall blowes unto their Empire. And *Amurath* the third of that name, who now reigneth, following their example, beginneth very wel to feele their fortunes. Was it not the King of *England*, *Edward* the third, who spake these words of our King *Charles* the fifth? *There was never King that lesse armed himselfe; and yet was never King, that gave me so much to doe, and put me to so many plunges.* He had reason to thinke it strange, as an effect of fortune, rather then of reason. And let such as will number the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall* amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, seeke for some other adherent then my selfe; forsomuch as twelve hundred leagues from their idle residence they have made themselves masters of both *Indias*, onely by the conduct and direction of their factors; of whom it would be knowne, whether they durst but goe and enjoy them in person. The Emperor *Julian* said moreover, that a Philosopher and gallant minded man ought not so much as breathe; that is to say, not to give corporall necessities, but what may not be refused them; ever holding both minde and body busied about notable, great and vertuous matters. He was ashamed, any man should see him spitte or sweate before people (which is also said of the Lacedemonian

A saying  
of the  
Emperor  
Julian

'Return  
with your  
shield or  
upon it'

youths, and *Xenophon* reporteth it of the Persian) forasmuch as he thought that continuall travel, exercise and sobriety shold have concocted and dried up all such superfluities. What *Seneca* saith shall not impertinently be alleadged here; That *the ancient Romans kept their youth upright, and taught their children nothing, that was to be learned sitting.* It is a generous desire, to endeavor to die both profitable and manlike: But the effect consisteth not so much in our good resolution, as in our good fortune. A thousand have resolved to vanquish or to die fighting, which have missed both the one and other: Hurts or emprisonment, crossing their desseigne and yeelding them a forced kinde of life. There are diseases which vanquish our desires and knowledge. Fortune should not have seconded the vanitie of the Romane Legions, who by oathe bound themselves, either to die or conquer. *Victor, Marce Fabi, revertar ex acie: Si fallo, Jovem patrem Graduumque Martem aliosque iratos invoco Deos* (Liv. dec. i. lib. 2). *I will, O Marcus Fabius, returne conqueror from the armie. If in this I deceive you, I wish both great Jupiter and Mars, and the other Gods offended with me.* The Portugalles report, that in certaine places of their Indian conquests, they found some Souldiers, who with horrible execrations had damned themselves, never to enter into any composition, but either they would be killed or remaine victorious; and in signe of their vowe wore their heads and beards shaven. We may hazard and obstinate our

selves long enough. It seemeth that blowes **Charmed**  
 shunne them, who over-joyfully present them- **lives**  
 selves unto them; and unwillingly reach those  
 that overwillingly goe to meeete them and corrupt  
 their end. Some unable to lose his life by his  
 adversaries force, having assaied all possible  
 meanes, hath been enforced to accomplish his  
 resolution, either to beare away the honor; or  
 not to carry away his life, and even in the fury  
 of the fight to put himselfe to death. There  
 are sundrie examples of it; but note this one.  
*Philistus*, chiefe Generall of yong *Dionysius* his  
 navie against the Siracusans, presented them the  
 battle, which was very sharply withstood, their  
 forces being alike; wherein, by reason of his  
 prowesse he had the better in the beginning.  
 But the Siracusans flocking thicke and three-  
 fold about his gally to grapple and board him,  
 having performed many worthy exployts with  
 his owne person, to ridde himselfe from them,  
 despairing of al escape, with his own hand de-  
 prived himselfe of that life, which so lavishly  
 and in vaine he had abandoned to his enemies  
 hands. *Moly Moluch*, King of *Fex*, who not  
 long since obtained that famous victory against  
*Sebastien* King of *Portugall*; a notable victorie,  
 by reason of the death of three Kings, and  
 transmission of so great a Kingdome to the  
 crowne of *Castile*; chanced to be grievously  
 sicke, at what time the Portugales with armed  
 hand entred his dominions, and afterward, though  
 he foresaw it, approaching nearer unto death,  
 empaired worse and worse. Never did man

The King  
of Mor-  
occo's

more stoutly, or more vigorously make use of an undanted courage, than he. He found himself very weake to endure the ceremonious pompe which the Kings of that Country, at their entrance into the Camp, are presented withall, which according to their fashion is ful of all magnificence and state, and charged with al maner of action; and therefore he resigned that honour to his brother, yet resigned he nothing but the office of the chiefe Captaine. Hirtselfe most gloriously executed, and most exactly performed all other necessary duties and profitable Offices. Holding his body laid along his cowch, but his minde upright and courage constant, even to his last gaspe; and in some sort after. He might have undermined his enemies, who were fond-hardtily advanced in his dominions: and was exceedingly grieved, that for want of a little longer life, and a substitute to manage the warre, and affaires of so troubled a state, he was enforced to seeke a bloody and hazardous battel, having another pure and undoubted victory in hand. He notwithstanding managed the continuance of his sicknes so miraculously, that he consumed his enemy, diverted him from his Sea-Fleete, and Maritime places, he held along the Coast of *Affricke*, even untill the last day of his life, which by designe he reserved and employed for so great and renowned a fight.

He ranged his battell in a round, on ev'ry side besieging the Portugals army, which bending round, and comming to close, did not onely hinder them in the conflict (which through the

valor of that yong-assailant King was very furious) since they were to turne their faces on all sides, but also hindred them from running away after the rowte. And finding all issues seized; and all passages closed, they were constrained to turne upon themselves: *coacervanturque non solum cede, sed etiam fuga; They fall on heapes, not only by slaughter but by flight.* And so pel-mell to heape one on anothers neck, preparing a most murtherous and compleat victory to the Conquerours. When he was even dying, he caused himselfe to be carryed and haled, where-ever neede called for him; and passing along the files, he exhorted the Captaines, and animated the Souldiers one after another. And seeing one wing of the fight to have the worst, and in some danger, no man could hold him, but he would needs with his naked-sword in hand set on hors-backe, striving by al possible meanes, to enter the throng; his men holding him, some by the bridle, some by the Gowne, and some by the Stirrops. This toyle and straining of himselfe, made an end of that little remainder of his life: Then was he laid on his bed: But coming to himselfe again, starting up, as out of a swown, each other faculty failing him he gave them warning to conceale his death (which was the necessariest commandement he could give his servants, lest the souldiers hearing of his death, might fall into dispaire) and so yeilded the Ghost, holding his fore-fingers upon his mouth; an ordinary signall to impose silence. What man ever lived so long and so neere

courage  
until  
death .



An un-  
daunted  
look upon  
death

death; Who ever died so upright and un-  
daunted? The extreamest degree, and most  
naturall, courageously to manage death, is to  
see or front the same, not onely without amaze-  
ment, but without care; the course of life con-  
tinuing free, even in death. As Cato, who  
ammuzed himselfe to studie and sleepe, having  
a violent and bloody death, present in his heart,  
and as it were holding it in his hand.

## CHAP. XXII

### Of running Posts, or Curriers

I HAVE been none of the weakest in this  
exercise, which is proper unto men of my  
stature, well-trust, short and tough, but now  
I have given it over: It toyles us over-much, to  
hold out long. I was even-now reading, how  
King *Cyrus*, that he might more speedily receive  
news from al parts of his Empire, (which was  
of exceeding great length) would needs have it  
tried, how far a horse could in a day goe out-  
right, without baiting, at which distance he  
caused stations to be set up and men to have  
fresh horses ready, for al such as came to him.  
And some report, this swift kind of running,  
answereth the flight of Cranes. *Cesar* saith,  
that *Lutius Vibulus Rufus*, making hast to  
bring *Pompey* an advertisement, rode day and  
night, and to make more speed shifted many

horses. And himselfe (as *Suetonius* writeth) would upon an hyred coache runne a hundred miles a day: And sure he was a rancke-runner: for where any river hindred his way, he swam it over; and never went out of his way to seek for a bridg or foard. *Tiberius Nero* going to visite his brother *Drusus*, who lay sick in *Germanie*, having three Coaches in his company, ranne two hundred miles in foure and twenty houres. In the Romane warres against King *Antiochus*, *Titus Sempromius Gracchus* (saith *Titus Livius*) *per dispositos equos prope incredibili celeritate ab Amphisa tertio die Pellam pervenit: By horse laid poste, with incredible speede within three dayes he past from Amphisa to Pella.* And viewing the place, it seemeth, they were set Stations for Postes, and not newly appointed for that race. The invention of *Cecinna* in sending newes to those of his house had much more speede; he carried certaine swallows with him, and having occasion to send newes home, he let them flie toward their nests, first marking them with some colour, proper to signifie what he meant, as before he had agreed upon with his friends. In the Theaters of *Rome*, the household Masters, carried Pigeons in their bosomes, under whose wings they fastened letters, when they would send any word home, which were also taught to bring back an answer. *D. Brutus*, used some being besieged in *Mutina*, and others elsewhere. In *Peru* they went poste upon mens backs, who tooke their Masters upon their shoulders, sitting upon certaine beares

Carrier  
pigeons  
and  
swallows

King-  
doms rise  
and fall  
even as  
men

or chaires, with such agilitie, that in full running speede the first porters without any stay, cast their load upon other who upon the way waited for them, and so they to others. I understand that the Valachians, which are messengers unto the great Turk, use extreame diligence in their businesse, forasmuch as they have authoritie to dis-mount the first passengers they meet upon the high-way, and give him their tyred Horse. And because they shal not be weary, they are wont to swathe themselves hard about the bodie with a broad Swathe or Seare-cloth, as diverse others doe with us: I could never finde ease or good by it.

### CHAP. XXIII

Of bad meanes employed to a good end

THERE is a woonderfull relation and correspondencie found in this universall policie of Natures workes, which manifestly sheweth, it is neither casual, nor directed by diverse masters. The infirmities and conditions of our bodies, are likewise seene in states and governments: *Kingdomes and Commonwealths as well as we, are borne, flourish, and faile through age.* We are subject unto a repléatnesse of humours, hurtfull and unprofitable, yea be it of good humours (for even Physitians feare that, and because there is nothing constant in us; they say, that perfection

of health over joyful and strong, must by art be abated and diminished, lest our nature unable to settle it selfe in any certaine place, and for hir amendment to ascend higher, should over-violently recoile backe into disorder; and therefore they prescribe unto Wrestlers purging, and phlebotomie, to substract that superabundance of health from them) or of bad, which is the ordinary cause of sicknesse. Of such like repletion are States often seene to be sick, and diverse purgations are wont to be used to purge them. As wee have seene some to dismiss a great number of families (chiefly to disburthen the country) which elsewhere goe to soeke where they may at others charge seat themselves. In this sorte our ancient *French* leaving the high Countries of *Germanie*, came to possesse *Gaule*, whence they displaced the first Inhabitants. Thus grew that infinite confluence of people, which afterward under *Brennus* and others, over-ran *Italie*. Thus the *Goths* and *Vandalls*, as also the Nations which possesse *Greece*, left their naturall countries, to go where they might have more elbow-rooms: And hardly shall we see two or three corners in the worlde, that have not felt the effect of such a remooving alteration. The Romanes, by such meanes, erected their Colonies; for perceiving their Citle to growe over-populous, they were wont to discharge it of unnecessarie people, which they sent to inhabite and manure the Countries they had subdued. They have also sometimes maintained warre with some of their enemies, not onely thereby to keepe

The  
spirit of  
Colonisation

War is an expedient outlet, but their men in breath, lest Idlennesse the mother of Corruption, should cause them some worse inconvenience.

*Et patimur longæ pacis mala, seivour armis  
Luxuria incumbit.*—JUVEN. *Sat.* vi. 192.

We suffer of long peace the soking harmes,  
On us lies luxury more fierce then armes.

But also to let the Common-wealth blood, and somewhat to allay the over vehement heat of their youth, to lop the sprigs, and thin the branches of this over-spreading tree, too much abounding in ranknesse and gaillardise: To this purpose they maintained a good while war with the Carthaginians. In the treaty of *Bretigny*, *Edward* the 3. King of *England*, would by no meanes comprehend in that general peace the contröversie of the Dutchie of *Britany* to the end he might have some way to disburthen himselfe of his men of war, and that the multitude of English-men, which he had employed about the warres of *France* should not returne into *England*. It was one of the reasons, induced *Philip* our King to consent, that his sonne *John* should be sent to warre beyond the seas, that so he might carry with him a great number of yong hot-blounds, which were amongst his trained military men. There are divers now adaies, which will speake thus, wishing this violent and burning emotion we see and feele amongst us, might be derived to some neighbor war, fearing lest those offending humours, which at this instant are predominant in our bodie, if they be not diverted

elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in force, and in the end cause our utter destruction : And in truth *a forraine warre is nothing so dangerous a disease as a civill* : But I will not beleeve that God would favour so unjust an enterprise, to offend and quarrell with others for our commodity.

bad means must not be used for a good end

*Nil mihi tam valde placeat Rhamnusia virgo,  
Quod temere inuitis suscipiatur heris.*

—CAT. *Epig. Eleg. iv. 77.*

That fortune likes me not, which is constrained,  
By Lords unwilling rashly entertained.

Notwithstanding the weakness of our condition, doth often urge us to this necessity, to use bad meanes to a good end. *Lycurgus* the most virtuous and perfect Law-giver that ever was, devised this most unjust fashion, to instruct his people unto temprance, by force to make the Helotes, which were their servants, to be drunke, that seeing them so lost and buried in wine, the Spartanes might abhor the excesse of that vice. Those were also more to be blamed, who anciently allowed that criminall offenders, what death soever they were condemned unto, should by Physitians all alive be torne in pieces, that so they might naturally see our inward parts, and thereby establish a more assured certainty in their art : For if a man must needes erre or debauch himselfe, it is more excusable, if he doe it for his soules health, then for his bodies good. As the Romans trained up, and instructed their people to valour, and contempt of dangers and

Roman death, by the outrageous spectacles of Gladiators, and deadly fighting Fencers, who in presence of them all combated, mangled, sliced and killed one another ;

*Quid vesani aliud sibi vult ars impia ludī,  
Quid mortes juvenum, quid sanguine pasta voluptas ?*

What else means that mad art of impious fense,  
Those yong-mens deaths, that bloud-fed pleasing  
sense ?

which custome continued even untill the time of  
*Theodosius* the Emperour.

*Arripe delatam tua dux in tempora famam,  
Quodque patris superasti successor laudis habeto:  
Nullus in urbe cadat, cujus sit pena voluptas,  
Jam solis contenta feris infamis arena,  
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.*

—*PROB. cont. Sym. ll. f.*

The fame defer'd to your times entertaine,  
Enherite praise which doth from Sire remains,  
Let none die to give pleasure by his paine:  
Be shamefull Theaters with beasts content,  
Not in goar'd armes man-slaughter represent.

Surely it was a wonderfull example and of exceeding benefit for the peoples institution, to see dayly one or two hundred, yea sometimes a thousand brace of men armed one against another, in their presence to cut and hacke one another in pieces with so great constancy of courage, that they were never seene to utter one word of faintnes or commiseration, never to turne their backe, nor so much as to shew a motion of demisnesse, to avoide their adversaries blowes: but rather to extend their necks to their swords, and

present themselves unto their strokes. It hath hapned to diverse of them, who through many hurts being wounded to death, have sent to aske the people, whether they were satisfied with their duty, before they would lie down in the place. They must, not only fight and die constantly, but jocondly: in such sort as they were cursed and bitterly scolded at, if in receiving their death they were any way seene to strive, yea [maidens] en-cited them to it.

The  
thumb  
turned  
outward

—*consurgit ad ictus,  
Et quoties victor ferrum jugula inserit, illa  
Delicias ait esse suas, pectusque jacentis  
Virgo modesta jubet converso pollice rumpi.*

—PRUD. cont. Sym. ii.

The modest Maide, when wounds are giv'n, ppriseth;  
When victors sword the vanquisht throate sus-  
priseth,  
She saith, it is hir sport, and doth command  
T' embrose the conquer'd breast, by signe of hand.

The first Romans disposed thus of their crimi-  
nals: But afterward they did so with their in-  
nocent servants; yea of their free men, which  
were sold to that purpose: yea of Senators; and  
Roman Knights, and women also.

*Nunc caput in mortem vendant, et funus arena;  
Atque hostem sibi quisque parat cum bella quiescunt.*

—MANIL. Astr. iv. 224.

They sell mens lives to death and stages sight,  
When wars do cease, they finde with whom to fight.

*Hos inter fremitus novosque latus,  
Stat sexus nulli insciusque ferri,  
Et pugnas capis improbus viriles.*



Rome's  
greatness  
seen in  
what it  
gave,

Amidst these tumults, these strange sporting sights,  
That Sex doth sit, which knowes not how sword  
bites,

And entertaines unmov'd, those manly fights.

Which I should deeme very strange and incredible; if we were not dayly accustomed to see in our wars many thousands of forraigne nations, for a very small some of mony to engage both their blood and life in quarrels wherein they are nothing interested.

#### CHAP. XXIV

##### Of the Roman greatnesse

I WILL but speake a word of this infinite argument, and slightly glance at it, to shew the simplicitie of those, who compare the seely greatnesse of these times unto that: In the seaventh booke of *Ciceroes* familiar Epistles (and let Gramarians remove this title of Familiar, if they please, for, to say truth, it makes but little to the purpose: and they who in lieu of familiar, have placed *ad familiares*, may wrest some argument [for] themselves, from that which *Suetonius* saith in *Cesars* life, that there was a volume of his Epistles *ad familiares*) there is one directed unto *Cesar* then being in *Gaule*, in which *Cicero* repeats these very words, which were in the end of a former letter that *Cesar* had written to him: *Touching Marcus Furius, whom thou hast commended unto me, I will make him King of Gaule, and if thou wilt have me preferre any other of thy*

*friends, send them to me.* It was not new in a simple Roman Citizen (as *Caesar* then was) to dispose of Kingdomes, for as well deprived he King *Déiotarus* of his, to give it to a Gentleman of the City of *Pergamo*, called *Mithridates*. And those who writ his life, mention many Kingdomes sold by him. And *Suetonius* reporteth, that he at one time wrested three millions and six hundred thousand crownes of gold from King *Ptolemeus*, which amounted very neere unto the price of his Kingdome.

not in  
what it  
took

*Tot Galata, tot Pontus eat, tot Lydia nummis:*  
—CLAUD. in *Eutrop.* l. 203.

Forsomuch let *Galatia* go,  
Forsomuch *Lidia*, *Pontus* so.

*Marcus Antonius* said, *the greatnesse of the Romane people was not so much discerned by what it tooke, as by what it gave.* Yet some ages before *Antonius*, was there one amongst others of so wonderfull authoritie, as through all his history I know no marke, carrieth the name of his credit higher. *Antiochus* possessed all *Ægypt*, and was very neere to conquer *Cipres*, and others depending of that Empire. Upon the progresse of his victories, *C. Popilius* came unto him in the behalfe of the Senate, and at first arrivall, refused to take him by the hand, before he had read the letters he brought him. The King having read them, said, he would deliberate of them. *Popilius* with a wand encircled the place about, where he stood, and thus bespake him; *Give me an answer to carry backe to the Senate, before thou goest out of*

The Romans had kings for their servants *this circle.* *Antiochus* amazed at the rudenesse of so urging a commandement, after he had pawed a while, replied thus; *I will doe what the Senate commandeth me.* Then *Popilius* saluted him as a friend unto the Roman people. To have renounced so great a Monarchy, and forgon the course of so successfull prosperity, by the only impression of three written lines. He had good reason, as afterward he did, by his Ambassadors to send the Senate word, that he had received their ordinances with the same respect, as if they had come from the immortall Gods. All the Kingdomes *Augustus* subdued by right of war, he restored to those who had lost them, or presented strangers with them: And concerning this purpose, *Tacitus* speaking of *Cogidunus* King of England, by a wonderful tract makes us perceive this infinit greatnes and might. The Romans (saith he) were from all antiquity accustomed to leave those Kings whom they had vanquished, in the possession of their kingdomes, under their authority: *Ut haberent instrumenta servitutis et reges* (COR. TAC. Vit. Jul. Agric.). That they might have even Kings also for instruments of their bondage. It is very likely, that *Soliman* the great Turke, whom we have seene to use such a liberality, and give away the kingdome of *Hungary*, and other dominions, did more respect this consideration, then that he was wont to alleage; which is, that he was over wearied with the many Monarchies, and surcharged with the severall dominions, which either his owne or his ancestors vertue had gotten him.

## CHAP. XXV

How a man should not counterfeit to  
be sicke

THERE is an epigram in *Martiall*, that may Martial's  
gouty  
fellow passe for a good one (for there are of all sortes in him) wherein he pleasantly relateth the storie of *Celias*, who to avoide the courting of certaine great men in *Rome*, to give attendance at their rising, and to waite, assist and follow them, fained to be troubled with the goute; and to make his excuse more likely, he caused his legges to be ointed and swathed, and lively counterfeted the behaviour and countenance of a goutie man. In the end fortune did him the favour to make him goutie indeede.

*Tantum cura potest et ars doloris,  
Desit fingere Celius podagram.*

—MART. vii. *Epig.* xxxviii. 8.

So much the care and cunning can of paine:

*Celias* (growne gowty) leaves the gowt to faine.

As farre as I remember, I have read a like History in some place of *Appian*, of one who purposing to escape the proscriptions of the *Triumvirat of Rome*, and to conceale himselfe from the knowledge of those who pursued him, kept himselfe close and disguised, adding this other invention to it, which was to counterfeit blindness in one eye, who when he came somewhat to recover his liberty, and would have left

Blindness  
through  
disuse of  
vision

off the plaister he had long time worne over his eyes, he found that under that mask he had altogether lost the sight of it. It may be the action of his sight was weakned, having so long continued without exercise and the [visual] vertue was wholly converted into the other eye: For, we may plainly perceiue, that holding one eye shut, it conuairteth some part of it's effect into his fellow; in such sort as it will swell and growe bigger. As also the idlenes, together with the warmth of the medicaments and swathing, might very wel draw some goutie humor into the legge of *Martials* goutie fellow. Reading in *Froisart*, the vow which a gallant troupe of young Englishmen had made, to weare their left eyes hudwink't, untill such time as they should passe into *France*, and there performe some notable exploite of armes upon us, I have often laughed with my selfe to think what they would have imagined, if as to the fore aleaged, it had hapned to them, and had all beene blind of the left eye, at what time they returned to look upon their mistresses, for whose sake they had made their vowe and undertaken such an enterprise. Mothers have great reason to chide their children when they counterfeit to be blind with one eye, crompt-backe, squint-eyed, or lame, and such other deformities of the body; for besides that the body thus tender may easily receive some ill custome, I know not how, it seemeth that fortune is glad to take us at our word; And I have heard diuerse examples of some, who have fallen sicke in very deede, because they had purposed to faine sicknes. I have

The  
dreamer  
of blind-  
ness

at all times enured my selfe, whether I be on horsebacke or a foote, to carry a good heaue wand or cudgell in my hand; yea I have endeoured to doe it handsomely, and with an affected kinde of countenance to continue so. Many have threatned me, that fortune will one time or other turne this my wantonnes into necessitie. I presume upon this, that I should be the first of my race, that ever was troubled with the gowt. But lett us somewhat amplifie this chapter, and patch it up with another piece concerning blindness. *Plinie* reports of one, who dreaming in his sleepe, that he was blind, awaking the next morning, was found to be starke blinde, having never had any precedent sickenes. The power of imagination may very well further such things, as elsewhere I have shewed; And *Plinie* seemeth to bee of this opinion; but it is more likely, that the motions, which the body felt inwardly (wherof Physitians, may if they please, finde out the cause) and which tooke away his sight, were the occasion of his dreame. Let us also adde another storie, concerning this purpose, which *Seneca* reporteth in his *Epistles*. *Thou knowest* (saith he writing unto *Lucilius*) *that Harpaste my wives foole, is left upon me as an hereditarie charge; for by mine owne nature, I am an enemie unto such monsters, and if I have a desire to laugh at a foole, I neede not seeke one farre; I laugh at my selfe. This foolish woman bath sodainly lost hir sight. I report a strange thing, but yet very true: She will not beleeeve she is blind; and urgeth ber keeper uncessantly to lead*

An  
Epistle of  
Seneca

*ber, saying still, my house is very darke. What we laugh at in hir, I entreat thee to beleve, that the same hapneth to each for us. No man knoweth himselfe to be covetous, or niggardly. Even the blind require a guide, but wee stray from our selves. I am not ambitious, say we, but no man can live otherwise at Rome: I am not sumptuous, but the Cittie requireth great charges. It is not my fault, if I be collerike; If I have not yet set downe a sure course of my life, the fault is in youth. Let us not seeke our evill out of us; it is within us, it is rooted in our entrailles. And only because we perceiv not that we are sick, makes our recoverie to prove more difficult. If we beginne not betimes to cure our selves, when shall we provide for so many sores, for so many evils? Yet have we a most sweete and gentle medicine of Philosophy; for of others, no man fees the pleasure of them, but after his recoverie, whereas she pleaseth, easeth, and cureth all at once. Lo here what Seneca saith, who hath some what diverted me from my purpose: But there is profit in the exchange.*

## CHAP. XXVI

### Of Thumbs

*TACITUS* reporteth, that amongst certaine barbarous Kings, for the confirmation of an inviolable bonde, or covenant, their manner was, to joyne their right hands close and hard together,

with enterlacing their thumbs: And when by hard **Thumb**  
wringing them the blood appeared at their ends, **signs**  
they pricked them with some sharp point, and  
then mutually entersuck't each one the others.  
Phisicians say, thumbs are the master-fingers of  
the hand, and that their Latine Etymologie is  
derived of *Pollere*. The Græcians cal it *ἀντι-*  
*χείρ*, as a man would say, another hand. And  
it seemeth, the Latins likewise take them some-  
times in this sense, *id est*, for a whole hand:

*Sed nec vocibus excitata blandis,  
Molli pollice nec rogata surgit.*

—MART. xii. *Epigram.* xcix. 8.

It wil not rise, though with sweet words excited,  
Nor with the touch of softest thumb invited.

In *Rome* it was heretofore a signe of favor, to  
wring and kisse the thumbs,

*Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum:*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* xviii. 66.

He that applaudes will praise,  
With both his thumbs, thy plaies.

and of disfavour or disgrace to lift them up, and  
turne them outward:

—*converso pollice vulgi*

*Quemlibet occidunt populariter.*—JUVEN. *Sat.* iii. 36.

When people turne their thumbs away,  
They popularly any slay.

Such as were hurt or maymed in their thumbs,  
were by the Romanes dispensed from going to  
warre, as they who had lost their weapons hold-  
fast. *Augustus* did confiscate all the goods of a



**Thumb  
mutila-  
tion**

*Romane* Knight, who through malice had cut off the thumbes of two yong children of his, thereby to excuse them from going to warre: And before him, the Senate in the time of the Italian warres, had condemned *Caius Vatienus* to perpetuall prison, and confiscated all his goods, forsomuch as he had willingly cut off the thumb of his left hand, so to exempt himselfe from the voyage. Some one, whose name I remember not, having gained a great victory by Sea, caused al the enemies whom he had vanquished and taken prisoners, to have their thumbs cut off, thinking thereby to deprive them of all meanes of fighting, of rowing, or handling their oares. The Athenians likewise caused them to be cut off from them of *Ægina*, to take from them the preheminance in the art of navigation. In *Lacedemon* masters punished their Schollers by byting their thumbs.

## CHAP. XXVII

### Cowardize, the mother of Crueltie

I HAVE often heard it reported, that *Cowardize is the mother of Cruelty*: And have perceived by experience, that this malicious sharpnes, and inhumane severitie of corage, is commonly accompanied with feminine remissnesse: I have seene some of the cruelest subject to weep easily, and for frivolous causes. *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pberes*, could not endure to

see tragedies acted in the Theaters, for feare his subjects should see him sob and weepe at the misfortunes of *Hecuba* and *Andromaca*; he who without remorse or pittie caused daily so many poore people to be most cruelly massacred and barbarously murdered. May it be weaknesse of spirit, makes them so pliable to all extremities? valor (whose effect is onely to exercise it selfe against resistance,

**Cruelty  
of the  
mob**

*Nec nisi bellantis gaudet cervice juvenci.*

—CLAUD. *Epist. ad Hadr.* v. 30.

Nor takes he joy to domineere  
But on the necke of sturdie steere)

refrains it selfe in seeing her enemy prostrate to her mercy: But puillanimitie, to say that she also is of the feaste, since it cannot bee joynd to the first part, takes for her share the second, which is massacre and blood. Murthers after victories, are commonly effected by the baser kinde of people, and officers that waite upon the baggage and cariage. And the reason we see so many unheard-of cruelties in popular warres, is, that this vulgar rascalitie doth martially flesh and enure it selfe to dive in blood up to the elbowes, and mangle a bodie, or hacke a carcase lying and groveling at their feete, having no manner of feeling of other valor.

*Et Lupus et turpes instant morientibus Ursa.*

*Et quacumque minor nobilitate fera est.*

—OVID. *Trist.* iii. *El.* v. 35.

A Wolfe or filthie Beare the dying man oppresse,  
Or some such beast as in nobilitie is lesse,

**Murder**  
**con-**  
**sidered**  
**to be**

As the Craven Curres, which at home or in their Kennels will tugge and bite the skins of those wilde beastes, which in the fields they durst not so much as bark-at. What is it that now adaies makes all our quarrels mortall? And whereas our forefathers had some degree of revenge, we now beginne by the last; and at first brunt nothing is spoken of but killing? What is it, if it be not cowardise? Every man seeth, it is more bravery and disdaine for one to beat his enemie, than make an end of him; and to keep him at a bay, than make him die. Moreover, that the desire of revenge is thereby alayed: and better contented; for, it aymeth at nothing so much as to give or shew a motion or feeling of revenge onely of her self. And that's the reason we do not challenge a beast, or fall upon a stone, when it hurts us, because they are incapable to feele our revenge. And to kill a man, is to shelter him from our offence. And even as *Bias*, exclaimed upon a wicked man; *I know that soone or late thou shalt bee punished for thy lewdnes, but I feare me I shall not see it*: And moaned the Orchomenians, because the penance which *Liciscus* had for his treason committed against them, came at such a time, as none of them were living, whom it had concerned, and whom the pleasure of that punishment might most delight: So ought revenge to be moaned, when he on whom it is inflicted, looseth the meanes to endure or feele it. For, even as the revenger, wil see the action of the revenge, that so he may feele the pleasure of it, so must

he on whom he is revenged, both see and feele, **a false**  
 that he may hereby receive both repentance and **revenge**  
 griefe. He shal rew it, say we. And though  
 he receive a stab or a blow with a pistoll on  
 his head, shal we think he will repent? Con-  
 trariwise, if we marke him wel, we shal perceiue  
 that in falling, he makes a moe or bob at us.  
 Hee is farre from repenting, when he rather  
 seemes to be beholding to us: In asmuch as we  
 afford him the favourablest office of life, which  
 is to make him dye speedily and as it were  
 insensibly. We are left to shift up and downe,  
 runne and trot, and squat heere and there, and al  
 to avoyd the officers, or escape the Magistrates  
 that pursue us; and he is at rest. *To kill a  
 man, is good to escape a future offence, and not  
 revenge the wrongs past.* It is rather an action  
 of feare, than of bravery: Of precaution, than of  
 courage: Of defence, than of an enterprise. It  
 is apparant, that by it, we quit both the true end  
 of revenge, and the respect of our reputation: If  
 he live we feare he wil or may charge us with  
 the like. It is not against him, it is for thee,  
 thou riddest thy selfe of him. In the King-  
 dome of *Narsinga*, this expedient would be  
 bootelesse: There, not only Souldiers, and such  
 as professe armes, but every meane Artificer,  
 decide their quarels with the Swords point.  
 The King never refuseth any man the combate,  
 that is disposed to fight: and if they be men  
 of qualitie he wil be by in person, and reward  
 the victor with a chaine of Gold: Which, who-  
 soever hath a mind unto, and wil obtaine it, may

Defama-  
tion of the  
absent

freely challenge him that weareth the same, and enter combate with him. And having overcome one combate, hath many following the same. If we thought by vertue to be ever superiors unto our enemy, and at our pleasure gourmandize him, it would much grieve us he should escape us, as he doth in dying: We rather endeavour to vanquish surely then honourably. And in our quarrels we rather seeke for the end, then for the glory. *Asinius Pollio* for an honest man, lesse excusable, committed a like fault; Who having written many invectives against *Plancus*, staid untill he were dead to publish them. It was rather to flurt at a blind man, and raile in a dead mans eare, and to offend a senselesse man; then incurre the danger of his revenge. And men answered in this behalfe, that *it onely belonged to Hobgoblins to wrestle with the dead*. He who stayeth till the Author be dead, whose writings he will combate, what saith he, but that he is weake and quarrellous? It was told *Aristotle*, that some body had spoken ill of him, to whom he answered, *Let him also whippe me, so my selfe be not by. Our forefathers were content to revenge an injurie with a lie; a lie with a blowe, a blowe with bloud; and so in order*. They were sufficiently valiant, not to feare their adversary, though he lived and were wronged: whereas we quake for feare, so long as we see him a foot. And that it is so, doth not our moderne practize, pursue to death, as well him who hath wronged us, as him whom we have offended? It is also a kind of dastardlinesse,

which hath brought this fashion into our single combates, to accompany us in the fields with seconds, thirdes, and fourths. They were anciently single combates, but now they are skirmishes and battels. To be alone, feared the first that invented it: *Quum in se cuique minimums fiduciæ esset. When every man had least confidence in himselfe.* For, what company soever it be, it doth naturally bring some comfort and ease in danger. In ancient time they were wont to employ third persons as sticklers, to see no trechery or disorder were used, and to beare witness of the combates successe. But now this fashion is come up, let any man be engaged whosoever is envited, cannot well containe himselfe to be a spectator, lest it be imputed unto him, it is either for want of affection, or lacke of courage. Besides the injustice of such an action and villany, for your honours protection, to engage other valour and force then your owne, I find it a disadvantage in an honest and worthy man, and who wholly trusts unto himselfe, to entermingle his fortune with a second man: every one runneth sufficient hazard for himselfe, and neede not also runne it for another: And hath enough to doe, to assure himselfe of his owne vertue for the defence of his life, without committing so precious a thing into third-mens-hands. For, if the contrary hath not expressly beene covenanted of all foure, it is a combined party. If your fellow chance to faile, you have two upon you, and not without reason: and to say, it is a Superchieri, as it is indeed:

Seconds  
in duels

Whether  
to use  
advan-  
tages in  
combats

as being well armed, to charge a man who hath but a piece of a sword, or being sound and strong, to set upon a man sore hurt. But if they bee advantages you have gotten fighting, you may use them without imputation. Disparitie is not considered, and inequality is not balanced, but by the state wherein the fight is begun. As of the rest you must rely on fortune: and if alone or single, you chance to have three upon you, your other two companions being slain, you have no more wrong done you, than I should offer in Wars in striking an enemy, whom at such an advantage I should finde grappled with one of my fellow-souldiers. The nature of societie beareth, where troupe is against troupe (as where our Duke of *Orleans* chalenged *Hen.* King of *England*, one hundred against another hundred; three hundred against as many, as did the *Argians* against the *Lacedemonians*; three to three, as were the *Horatii* against the *Curatii*) the pluralitie of either side is never respected for more than a single man. Whersoever there is company, the hazard is confused and disordered. I have a private interest in this discourse. For, my brother, the Lord of *Matecoulom*, being desired in *Rome*, to second and accompany a Gentleman, with whom he had no great acquaintance, who was defendant and chalenged by another; The fight begunne, my brother by chance found himselfe confronted with one neerer and better known to him (I would faine be resolved of these Lawes of honor, which so often shooke and trouble those

of reason) whom after he had vanquished and dispatched, seeing the two principals of the quarrell yet standing and unhurt, he went to reskew his fellow. What could he do lesse? should he have stood still, and (if chance would so have had it) see him defeated, for whose defence he was entred the quarrel? What until then he had done, was nothing to the purpose, and the quarrel was still undecided. Al the courtesie you can, you ought surely use to your enemy, especially when you have brought him under, and to some great disadvantage; I know not how a man may use it, when anothers interest depends on it, where you are but accessory, and where the quarrel is not yours. Hee could never be just nor curteous, in hazard of him unto whom he had lent himselfe. So was he presently delivered out of the Italian prisons, by a speedy and solemne letter of commendations from our King. Oh indiscreet Nation. We are not contented to manifest our follies, and bewray our vices to the world by reputation: but we go into forraigne Nations and there in person shew them. Place three French-men in the deserts of *Libya*, and they wil never live one moneth together without brawling, falling out and scratching one another: you would say this peregrination, is a party erected to please strangers with our tragedies; and those most commonly, who rejoyce and scoffe at our evils. We travel into *Italie* to learne the art of fencing, and practise it at the cost of our lives, before we know it; it were requisite according to the

A story  
of Montaigne's  
brother



Not duels but tournaments were the order of true Discipline, we should preferre the Theorike before the practike. We betray our apprenticesage.

*Primitia juvenum misera, bellique futuri  
Dura rudimenta.*—STAT. Sylv. v.

The miserable first essayes of youth,  
And hard beginnings of warre that ensu'th.

I know it is an art profitable to her end (in the single combate betweene the two Princes, cosin-Germans, in *Spaine*, the eldest of which (saith *T. Livius*) by the skil of his weapons, and by craft, overcame easily the dismayed forces of the yonger) and as by experience I have knowen, the knowledge and skil wherof, hath puffed up the heart of some, beyond their naturall proportion. But it is not properly a vertue, since she draweth her stay from dexteritie, and takes her foundation from other than from her selfe. *The honour of combates consisteth in the jealousie of the heart, not of the science.* And therefore have I seene some of my friends, renowned for great Masters in this exercise in their quarels to make choise of weapons, that might well take the meane of this advantage, or odde from them; and which wholly depended on fortune, and assurance that their victorie might not rather be imputed to their fencing, than ascribed to their valour. And in my infancy, our nobility scorned the reputation of a fencer, though never so cunning, as injurious; and if any learnt it, they would sequester themselves from company, deeming the same as a mystery of craft

and subtilty, derogating from true and perfect **exercises**  
vertue. **of our**  
**ancestors**

*Non schivar, non parar, non ritirarsi  
Vogliono, costor, ne qui destrezza ha parte;  
Non danno i colpi finti hor pieni, hor scarsi;  
Toglie l'ira e il furor l'uso dell' arte,  
Odie le spade horribilmente urtarsi  
A mezzo il ferro, il pie d'orma non parte,  
Sempre è il pie fermo, è la man sempre in moto,  
Nascende taglio in van, ne punta à voto.*

—TASSO, *Gier.* can. xii. stan. 55.

T' avoyde, toward retiring to give ground  
They reke not, nor hath nimblenes heere part,  
Nor give false blowes, nor full, nor scarce, nor  
sound,

Rage and revenge bereave all use of arte.  
Their Swordes at halfe Sword horribly resound  
You might heare mette: No foote from steppe doth  
parte:

Their foote still fast, their hand still faster mooveth:  
No stroke in vaine, no thrust in vaine, but prooveth.

*Shooting at Buts, Tilting, Torneyes, Barriers,*  
*the true images of martiall combates, were the*  
*exercises of our forefathers.* This other exercise  
is so much the lesse noble, by how much it re-  
specteth but a private end; which against the  
lawes of justice, teacheth us to destroy one  
another, and every way produceth ever mis-  
chievous effects. *It is much more worthy, and*  
*better beseeming, for a man to exercise himselfe in*  
*things that assure and offend not our Common-*  
*wealth; and which respect publike securitie and*  
*generall glory.* Publius [Rutilius, Consul] was the  
first that ever instituted the Souldier to manage his  
armes by dexteritie and skil, and joyned art unto

**Fencing schools** vertue, not for the use of private contentions, but for the wars and Roman peoples quarrels. A popular and civill manner of fencing. And besides the example of *Cesar*, who appointed his Souldier, above all things, to aime and strike at the face of *Pompeyes* men in the battell of *Pharsalia*: A thousand other Chieftaines and Generals have devised new fashions of weapons, and new kindes of striking, and covering of themselves, according as the present affaires require. But even as *Philopamen* condemned wrestling, wherein hee excelled others, forsomuch as the preparations appertaining to this exercise differed from those that belong to military discipline, to which he supposed, men of honour should amuse and addict themselves. Me thinks also, that this nimblenesse or agilitie, to which men fashion and enure themselves, their limbes, their turnings, windings, and nimble-quick motions, wherein youth is instructed and trained in this new schoole, are not onely unprofitable, but rather contrary and damageable for the use of militarie combate: And we see our men do commonly employ particular weapons, in their fence schooles, and peculiarly appointed for that purpose. And I have seene it disallowed, that a gentleman chalenged to fight with Rapier and Dagger, should present himselfe in the equipage of a man at armes; or that another should offer to come with his cloake instead of a Dagger. It is worthy the noting, that *Lachaz* in *Plato*, speaking of an apprentissage, how to manage armes, conformable to ours, saith, he could never

see any notable warrior come of a schoole of **Cruelty of**  
 fence, and especially from among the maisters. **cowards**  
 As for them our owne experience confirmes as  
 much. And for the rest we may at least say,  
 they are sufficiencies of no relation or corre-  
 spondency. And in the institution of the children  
 of his Common wealth, *Plato* interdicts the artes  
 of striking or playing with fists, devised by *Amy-*  
*cus* and *Epeius*, and to wrestle invented by *An-*  
*tbæus* and *Cecyo* : because they aime at another  
 end, then to adapt youth to warlike service, and  
 have no affinitie with it. But I digresse much  
 from my theame. The Emperour *Mauricius*,  
 being forewarned by dreames, and sundry prog-  
 nostications, that one *Phocas* a Souldier at that  
 time yet unknowne, should kil him, demanded of  
*Philip* his sonne in law, who that *Phocas* was,  
 his nature, his conditions, and customes, and  
 how amongst other things *Philip* told him, he  
 was a faint cowardly, and timorous fellow : The  
 Emperour thereby presently concluded, that he  
 was both cruel and a murtherer. What makes  
 tyrants so bloud-thirstie ? it is the care of their  
 securitie, and that their faint-hart yeelds them  
 no other meanes to assure themselves, then by  
 rooting out those which may in any sort offend  
 them ; yea silly women, for feare they should  
 or bite or scratch them ;

*Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet.*

—CLAUD. in *Eutrop.* i. 182.

Of all things he afraide,  
 At all things fiercely laide.

Mon-  
taigne's  
love of  
discur-  
siveness

The first cruelties are exercised by themselves, thence proceedeth the feare of a just revenge, which afterward produceth a swarme of new cruelties; by the one to stifle the other. *Philipp*, the King of *Macedon*, who had so many crowes to pul with the Romanes, agitated by the horror of so many murthers committed by his appointment, and unable to make his partie good, or to take any safe resolution against so many families, by him at severall times injured, resolved at last to seize upon al their children whom he had caused to be murdered, that so he might day by day one after another rid the world of them, and so establish his safety. *Matters of worth are not impertinent wheresoever they be placed.* I, who rather respect the weight and benefite of discourses, then their order and placing, need not feare to place here at randone a notable storie. When they are so rich of their owne beautie, and may very well uphold themselves alone, I am content with a hairens end, to fite or joyne them to my purpose. Amongst others who had beene condemned by *Philipp*, was one *Herodicus*, Prince of the Thessalians: After whom he caused his two sonnes in lawe to be put to death; each of them leaving a young sonne behind him. *Theoxena* and *Arco* were the two widdowes. *Theoxena* although she were instantly urged thereunto, could never be induced to marry againe. *Arco* tooke to husband *Poris* a chiefe man amongst the *Ænians*, and by him had divers children, all which she left very young. *Theoxena* moved by a motherly

charitie toward her young nephews, and so to have them in her protection and bringing up, wedded *Paris*. Upon this came out the proclamation of the Kings Edict. This noble-minded mother, distrusting the Kings crueltie and fearing the mercilesnes of his Satelities or officers towards these noble, hopefull and tender youths, feared not to say, that shee would rather kil them with her own hands, then deliver them. *Paris* amazed at her protestations, promiseth her secretly to convey them to *Athens*, ther by some of his faithful friends to be kept safely. They take occasion of a yearely feast, which to the honor of *Aeneas* was solemnized at *Aenea*, and thither they goe, where having all day-long assisted to the ceremonies, and publike banquet: night being come, they convey themselves into a shippe appointed for that purpose, in hope to save themselves by Sea. But the winde fell out so contrarie, that the next morning they found themselves in view of the town, whence the night before they had hoised sailes, where they were pursued by the guarders and Souldiers of the Port. Which *Paris* perceiving, laboured to hasten and encourage the Mariners to shift away: But *Theonena*, [enraged] through love and revenge, remembering her first resolution, prepared both weapons and poison; and presenting them to their sight, thus shee bespake them: Oh my dease children, take a good heart, death is now the onely meane of your defence and libertie, and shall be a just cause unto the Gods for their holy justice. These bright-keene blades, these

Devotion  
of The-  
oxena

The  
lingering  
deaths

full cuppes shall free you the passage unto it. Courage therefore, and thou my eldest childe, take this sword to die the strongest death. Who on the one side having so undaunted a perswader, and on the other their enemies ready to cut their throats, in furious manner ranne all to that which came next to his hand. And so all goared and panting were throwne into the Sea. *Theocena*, proud she had so gloriouslie provided for her childrens safety, lovingly embracing her husband, saide thus unto him; Oh my deare heart, let us follow these boyes, and together with them enjoy one selfe same grave; and so close-claspe together, they flung themselves into the maine: So that the ship was brought to shoare againe, but emptie of her Maisters. Tyrants to act two things together, that is, to kill and cause their rage to be felt, have employed the utmost of their skill, to devise lingring deaths. They wil have their enemies die, yet not so soone, but that they may have leisure to feele their vengeance. Wherein they are in great perplexity: for if the torments be over-violent, they are short; if lingring, not grievous inough. In this they imploy their wits and devises. Many examples wherof we see in antiquitie; and I wot not, whether wittingly we retaine some spice of that barbarisme. *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, seemeth to mee meeere crueltie.* Our justice cannot hope; that he whom the terror of death cannot dismay, be he to be hanged or beheaded, can in any sort be troubled with the imagination of a languishing fire, of a wheele, or of burning pin-

cers. And I wot not, whether in that meane time we bring him to despaire: For, what plight can the soule of a man be in, that is broken upon a wheele, or after the old fashion, nailed upon a Crosse, and xxiiii howres together expects his death? *Josephus* reporteth, that whilst the *Romane* warres continued in *Jurie*, passing by a place where certain Jewes had been crucified three dayes before, he knew thre of his friends amongst them, and having gotten leave to remove them; two of them died, but the third lived long after. *Ghalcondylas* a man of credite, in the memories he left of matters happened in his time and thereabouts, maketh report of an extreame torment, the Emperor *Mechmed* was often wont to put in practise, which was by one onely blow of a Cimitary or broad Persian Sword; to have men cut in two parts, by the waste of the body, about the Diaphragma, which is a membrane lying overthwart the lower part of the breast, separating the heart and lights from the stomacke, which caused them to dye two deaths at once: and affirmeth that both parts were seen full of life, to move and stirre long time after, as if they had been in lingring torment. I do not thinke, they felt any great torture in that moving. *The gastliest torments to looke upon are not alwaies the greatest to be endured*: And I finde that much more fiercely-horrible, which other Historians write, and which he used against certain Lords of *Epirus*, whom faire and leasurely he caused to be flead all over, disposed by so malicious a dispensation, that their lives continued fifteene

devised  
by  
tyrants



Torture  
by fullers'  
teazels

daies in that languor and anguish. And these two others; *Cræsus* having caused a Gentleman to be apprehended, greatly favoured by *Pantaleon* his brother; led him in a fullers or cloth-workers shoppe, where with *Cardes* and *Teazels* belonging to that trade, he made him to be carded, scraped, and teazled so long untill he died of it. *George Sechell Ring-leader* of the Country men of *Polina*, who under the title of a *Croysada*, wrought so many mischiefes, having beene defeated in a battell by the *Vayvoda* of *Transilvania*, and taken Prisoner, was for three dayes together tyed naked to a wooden-horse, exposed to all manner of tortures, any man might devise against him; during which time divers other prisoners were kept fasting. At last, he yet living, saw *Lucat* his deare brother, and for whose safety he sued and entreated, forced to drinke his blood, drawing all the envie and hatred of his misdeedes upon himselfe. And twentie of his most favoured Captaines were compelled to feed upon his flesh, which with their teeth they must teare off, and swallow their morsels. The rest of his body and entrailes, he being dead, were boiled in a pan, and given for food to other of his followers.

## CHAP. XXVIII

## All things have their season

THOSE who compare *Cato* the Censor, to *Cato* the yonger that killed himselfe, compare two notable natures, and in forme neare one unto another. The first exploited his, sundrie waies, and excelleth in military exploits, and utilitie of his publike vacations. But the yongers vertue (besides that it were blasphemy, in vigor to compare any unto him) was much more sincere and unspotted. For, who will discharge the Censors of envie and ambition, that durst counter-checke the honor of *Scipio*, in goodnes and all other parts of excellencie, farre greater and better than him or any other man living in his age? Amongst other things reported of him, this is one, that in his eldest yeares he gave himselfe, with so earnest a longing to learn the Greek tong, as if it had been to quench a long burning thirst: A thing in mine opinion not very honorable in him: It is properly that which we call doting or to become a child againe. All things have their season, yea the good and all. And I may say my *Pater noster* out of season. As *T. Quintius Flaminius* was accused, forasmuch as being Generall of an Army, even in the houre of the conflict, he was seene to withdraw himselfe apart, amusing himselfe to pray God, although he gained the battell.

There is  
a time for  
every  
thing

Preparation  
for  
old age*Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis.*

—JUVE. Sat. vi. 344.

A wise-man will use moderation,  
Even in things of commendation.

*Eudemondas* seeing *Xenocrates* very old, laboriously apply himself in his Schoole-lectures, said, when wil this man know something, since he is yet learning? And *Philopæmen*, to those who highly extolled King *Ptolomey*, because he daily hardned his body to the exercise of arms: It is not (said he) a matter commendable in a King of his age, in them to exercise himselfe, he should now really and substancially imploy them. Wise men say, that *young-men should make their preparations, and old-men enjoy them.* And the greatest vice they note in us, is, that our desires do uncessantly grow yonger and yonger. We are ever beginning a new to live. Our studies and our desires should sometimes have a feeling of age. We have a foote in the grave, and our appetites and pursuities are but new-borne.

*Tu secunde marmora**Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri**Immemor, struis domos.*—HOR. Car. ii. Od. xviii. 17.

You, when you should be going to your grave,  
Put Marble out to worke; build houses brave,  
Unmindfull of the buriall you must have.

The longest of my desseignes doth not extend to a whole yeare; now I only apply my selfe to make an end: I shake off all my new hopes and enterprises: I bid my last farewell to all the places I leave, and daily dispossesse my selfe of

what I have: *Olim jam nec peris quicquam mihi, nec acquiritur. Plus superest viatici quam via* (SEN. *Epist.* lxxvii. p.). *It is a good while since I neither loose nor get any thing; I have more to beare my charges, then way to goe.* **Studies should be suitable to age**

*Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi.*  
—VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 653.

I have liv'd, and the race have past,  
Wherein my fortune had me plac't.

To conclude, it is all the ease I finde in my age, and that it suppresseth many cares and desires in me, wherewith life is much disquieted. The care of the worlds course, the care of riches, of greatnesse, of knowledge, of health and of my selfe. This man learneth to speake, when he should rather learne to hold his peace for ever. A man may alwaies continue his studie, but not schooling. O fond-foolish for an old man to be ever an *Abcedarian*.

*Diversos diversa juvant, non omnibus annis  
Omnia conveniunt.*—CATUL. *Eleg.* i. 103.

Diverse delights to diverse, nor to all  
Do all things at all yeares convenient fall.

If we must needs study, let us study something sorttable to our condition, that we may answer, as he did, who being demanded what his studies would stead him in his decrepity, answered; *that he might the better, and with more ease leave this world.* Such a studie was yong *Catoes*, in forefeeling his approaching end, who lighting upon *Platoes* discourse of the soules immortality. Not,

Cato's preparation for death as it may be supposed, that long before he had not stored himself with all sorts of munition for such a dislodging. Of assurance, of constancy and instruction, he had more then *Plato* hath in all his writings: His Science, and his courage, were in this respect above all Philosophy. Hee undertooke this occupation, not for the service of his death, but as one, who did not so much as interrupt his sleep, in a deliberation of such consequence, whoever without choise or change continued his wonted studies, and all other accustomed actions of his life. The same night, wherein the Pretorship was refused him, he passed over in play. That wherein he must die, he spent in reading. The losse of life or office was all one to him.

## CHAP. XXIX

### Of Vertue

I FINDE by experience, that there is great difference betweene the sodaine fits and fantasies of the soule, and a resolute disposition and constant habitade: And I see, there is nothing but we may attaine unto, yea, as some say, to exceede Divinitie it selfe; forsomuch as it is more to become impassible of himselfe, then to be so by his originall condition: And that one may joyne a resolution and assurance of God to mans imbecillitie. But it is by fits. And in

the lives of those Heroes or noble worthies of former ages, are often found wonderfull parts, and which seeme greatly to exceed our naturall forces: but they are pranks or parts consonant to truth: and it may hardly be believed, mans soule may so be tainted and fed with those so high-raised conditions, that unto it they may become as ordinary and naturall. It hapneth unto our selves, who are but abortive broods of men, sometimes to rowze our soule farre beyond her ordinary pitch, as stirred up by the discourses, or provoked by the examples of others. But it is a kinde of passion, which urgeth, mooveth, agitateth and in some sorte ravisheth her from out her selfe: for, that gust overblowne, and storme past, wee see, it wil unawares unbend, and lose it selfe, if not to the lowest pitch, at least to be no more the same she was, so that upon every slight occasion, for a bird lost, or for a glasse broken, wee suffer our selves to be mooved and distempered very neere as one of the vulgar sort. *Except order, moderation and constancie, I imagine all things may bee done by an indifferent and defective man.* Therefore say wisemen, that directly to judge of a man, his common actions must specially be controuled, and he must every day be surpris'd in his work-day clothes. *Pyrrha*, who framed so pleasant a Science of ignorance, assaied (as all other true Philosophers) to fashion his life answerable to his doctrine. And forasmuch as he maintained the weakenesse of mans judgement, to be so extreame, as it could take nor resolution, nor

Daily  
actions  
reveal  
the man

Pyrrhonism  
in real life

inclination: and would perpetually suspend it, ballancing, beholding and receiving all things, as indifferent: It is reported of him, that he ever kept himselfe after one fashion, looke and countenance: If he had beguane a discourse, he would end it, though the party to whom he spake, were gone: And if he went any where, he would not goe an inche out of his path what let or obstackle soever came in his way: being kept from falls, from cartes or other accidents by his friends. For, to feare or shunne any thing, had beene to shooke his propositions, which removed all election and certainty from his very senses. He sometimes suffered himselfe to be cut and cautherized, with such constancy, as he was never seen so much as to shrug, twitch, move or winke with his eyes. It is something to bring the minde to these imaginations, but more to joine the effects unto it, yet is it not impossible. But to joine them with such perseverance and constancy, as to establish it for an ordinary course; verily in these enterprises so farre from common use, it is almost incredible to be done. The reason is this, that he was sometimes found in his house, bitterly scolding with his sister, for which being reprov'd, as he that wronged his indifferencie: *What? said he; must this seely woman also serve as a witnesse to my rules?* Another time, being found to defend himselfe from a dog: *It is (replied he) very hard, altogether to dispoile and shake off man:* And man must endeavour and enforce himselfe to resist and confront all things, first by effects, but if the

worst befall, by reason and by discourse. It is now about seaven or eight yeares since, that a country man, yet living, not above two leagues from this place, having long before beene much vexed and troubled in minde, for his wives jealousie; one day comming home from his worke, and she after her accustomed manner welcomming and entertaining him with brawling and scowlding, as one unable to endure her any longer, fell into such a moodie rage, that sodainely with a Sickle, which he held in his hand, he cleán cut off those parts that were the cause of her jealousie, and flung them in her face. And it is reported, that a yong gentleman of *France*, amorous and lustie, having by his peraeverance at last mollified the heart of his faire mistresse, desperate, because comming to the point of his so long sued-for businesse, he found himselfe unable and unprepared, and that

Cutting  
off the  
nose to  
spite the  
face

—non viriliter

*Iners senile penis extulerat caput.*

—*Tim. ad Priap. v. 4.*

as soone as he came home, he deprived himselfe of it: and sent it as a cruel and bloody sacrifice for the expiation of his offence. Had he done it by discourse or for religions sake, as the priestes of *Cybele* were wont to do, what might we not say of so haughty an enterprise? Not long since at *Bragerac*, five leagues-distance from my house, up the river of *Dordaigne*, a woman, having the evening before beene grievously tormented, and sore beaten by hir husband; froward and skittish



Burial of  
Indian  
wives

by complexion, determined, though it should cost hir the price of hir life, by one meane or other, to escape his rudenesse, and rising the next morning, went as she was accustomed to visite her neighbours, to whom in some sort she recommended the state of hir affaires, then taking a sister of hers by the hand, ledde hir along untill she came upon the bridge that crosseth the River, and having bid her hartily farewell; as in the way of sport without shewing any maner of change or alteration, headlong threw hirselfe down into the River, where she perished. And which is more to be noted in hir, is, that this hir determination ripened a whole night in hir head. But the Indian Wives, may not here be forgotten as worthy the noting: Whose custome is, that husbands have many wives and for hir that is dearest unto hir husband, to kil hirselfe after him: Every one in the whole course of hir life, endevoreth to obtaine this priviledge and advantage over all her fellow-wives: And in the good offices and duties they shew their husbands, respect no other recompence than to be preferred to accompany them in death:

*Ubi mortifero jacta est fax ultima lecto,  
— Uxorum fusis, stat pia turba comis:  
Et certamen habent Lethi, quæ viva sequatur  
— Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori:  
Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent,  
— Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.*

—PROPERT. iii. El. xii. 17.

When for his death-bed last flame is appli'd  
With loose haire many kind wives stand beside,

And strive for death, which alive may be next **with their**  
 Hir wedlocke, who may not, is sham'd and vex't. **husbands**  
 They that orecome, are burn'd, to flames give way,  
 Their bodies burnt on their burnt husbands lay.

A late Writer affirmeth, that himselfe hath seene this custome highly reputed in the new discovered East Indiaes, where not only the wives are buried with their husbands, but also such slaves as he hath enjoyed; which is done after this manner. The husband being deceased, the widdow may, if she will (but few do it) request two or three Monthes space to dispose of hir busines. The day come, adorned as a sumptuous bride, she mounteth on horsbacke, and with a cheereful countenance, telleth every body she is going to lie with her bride groome, holding in her left hand a looking-glasse, and an arrow in the right. Thus having a while rid up and downe in great pomp and magnificence, accompanied with her friends and kinsmen, and much concourse of people, in feast and jollitie, she is brought unto a publike place, purposely appointed for such spectacles. Which is a large open place, in the midst whereof is a pit or grave full of wood, and neere unto it an upraised scaffold, with foure or five stepes to ascend, upon which she is brought, and served with a stately and sumptuous banquet, which ended, she beginneth to dance and sing, and when she thinks good, commandeth the fire to be kindled. That done, she commeth down againe, and taking the nearest of hir husbands kindred by the hand, they goe together to the

Death  
of rich  
wives  
and of  
poor

next river, where shee stripes hir selfe all naked, and distributeth hir jewels and cloathes among hir friends, then plungeth herselfe in the Water, as if she meant to wash away hir sins; then comming out she enwrappeth her selfe in a yellow piece of linnen cloth, about the length of fourteene yards; And giving her hand againe unto hir husbands Kins-man, they returne unto the Mount, where she speakes unto the people, to whom (if she have any) she recommendeth hir Children. Betweene the Pitte and Mount, there is commonly a Curtaine drawne, lest the sight of that burning furnace might dismay them: Which many, to shew the greater courage, will not have it drawne. Her speech ended, a Woman presenteth her with a Vessell ful of Oyl, therewith to annoint her head and body, which done, she casteth the rest into the fire, and therewithall sodainly flings herselfe into it: Which is no sooner done, but the people cast great store of Faggots and Billets upon hir, lest she should languish over-long: and all their joy is converted into grieffe and sorrow. If they be persons of meane quality, the dead mans body is carried to the place where they intend to bury him, and there he is placed sitting; his Widdow kneeling before him with her armes close about his middle, and so keepeth herself, whilst a wall is erected up about them both, which raised to the height of her shoulders, some of her kindred taking her by the Head behind, wrings hir neck about; and having given the last gaspe, the wall is immediately

made up close over their heads, wherein they remain buried. In the same Country, there was something like to this in their Gymnosophists, or wise-men, who not by menaces or compulsions of others, nor by the violence of a sodaine humour, but by the expresse and voluntary profession of their rule, their maner was according as they attained unto a certaine age, or saw themselves threatned by some sickness, to cause a pile of wood to be erected, and upon it a rich bedde; and having cheerefully feasted their friends and acquaintance, with such a resolution laid themselves downe in that bed, that fire set unto it, they were never seene to stirre nor hand nor foot; and thus died one of them, named *Galenus*, in the presence of all the army of *Alexander* the Great. And who had not so made himselfe away, was neither esteemed holy nor absolutely happy among them; sending his soule purged and purified by fire, after it had consumed whatsoever was mortal and terrestrial in it. This constant premeditation of al the life, is that which makes the wonder. Amongst our other disputation, that of *Fatum*, hath much entermedled it selfe; and to joyne future things, and our wil it selfe unto a certaine unavoydable necessity, we yet stand upon that argument of former times: since God foreseeeth al things must thus happen as undoubtedly he doeth: They must then necessarily happen so. To which our Clarke and Maisters answered, that to see any thing come to passe, as we doe, and likewise God (for he being present in ful essence, rather

Voluntary  
death  
of the  
wise-men

**Che sara** seeth than foreseeth) is not to force the same  
**sara** to happen: yea we see, because things come  
 to passe, but things happen not because we se.  
 The hapning makes the science or knowledge,  
 and not knowledge the happening. What we  
 see come to passe, happeneth; but it might come  
 to passe otherwise. And God in the eternall  
 register of the causes of happenings, which he  
 hath in his prescience, hath also those, which  
 are caled casual; and the voluntary, which de-  
 pend of the liberty, he hath given unto our free  
 wilf, and knoweth we shall faile, because our will  
 shall have beene to faile: I have seene divers  
 encourage their troupes with this fatall necessitie:  
 For, if our houre be tied unto a certaine point  
 neither the musket-shottes of our enemies, nor  
 our courage, nor our flight and cowardize, can  
 either advance or recoyle the same.

This may well be said, but seeke you who  
 shall effect it: And if it be so, that a strong and  
 lively faith, doth likewise draw action after it:  
 truly this faith (wherewith we so much fill our  
 mouthes) is marvelous light in our times: except  
 the contempt it hath of works, make her disdain  
 their company. So it is, that to the same pur-  
 pose, the Lord of *Joinville*, as credible a witnesse  
 as any other, tells us of the Bedoins, a nation  
 entermingled with the Saracine, with whom our  
 King *Saint Lewes* had to deale in the holy land,  
 who so confidently believed in their religion,  
 the dayes of every one to be prefixed and  
 numbred from all eternitie, by an inevitable  
 preordinance, that they went al bare and naked

to the warres, except a Turkish Glaive in their hand, and their body covered but with a white linnen-cloth: And for the bitterest curse, if they chanced to fall out one with another, they had ever in their mouth: *Cursed be thou, as he that armeth himselfe for feare of death.* Here is another maner of triall or a belief or faith then ours, In this rank may likewise be placed that which those two religious men of *Florence*, not long since gave unto their countrymen. . . . Being in some controversaie betweene themselves about certaine points of learning; they accorded to go both into the fire, in the presence of al the people, and in the open market place, each one for the verifying of his opinion; and all preparations were ready made, and execution to be performed, but that by an unexpected accident it was interrupted. A yong Turkish Lord, having atchieved a notable piece of service in armes, and with his own person, in ful view of the two battels between *Ammurath* and *Huniades* ready to be joyned together, being demanded by *Ammurath* his Prince, who (being so yong and unexperienced, for it was the first warre or service he had seen before) had replenished him with so generous and undanted vigor of courage, answered, that a Hare had beene his soveraigne maister and onely teacher of valour: and thus began his speech. *Being one day a hunting, I found a Hare sitting in her forme, and although I had a brace of excellent good gray-bounds with me in a slip or leash, I thought it good, because I would be sure of my game to use my bow; for she was a very faire*

Kismet marke. I beganne to shoote my arrowes at her, which I did to the number of fortie (for in my quiver were just so many) yet could I never hurt her, no not so much as start her: After all this, I let slip my gray hounds, who could doe no more then I had done: by which I learnt, that she had beene sheltered and defended by her destinie; and that no glaives nor arrowes never hit, but by the permission of our fatalitie, which is lieth not in us to avoide or advance. This storie may serve to make us percieve by the way, how flexible our reason is to all sorts of objects. A notable man, great in yeares, in name, in dignity and in learning, vaunted himselfe unto me, that he was induced to a certaine most important change of his religion, by a strange and fantastical incitation: and in al things so il concluding that I deemed the same stronger and more forcible, being taken contrary. He termed it a miracle, and so did I, but in a different sense. Their historians say, that perswasion having popularly beene scattered amongst the Turkes, of the fatal and inflexible prescription of their dayes, doth apparantly aide to warrant and embolden them in dangers. And I know a great Prince, who happily thrives by it, be it he believe it, or take it for an excuse to hazard himselfe extraordinarily; provided fortune be not soone wearie to favour and backe him. There hath not happened in our memorie a more admirable effect of resolution, than of those two villaines that conspired the death of the Prince of Orange: It is strange how, the last, who performed the same, could be induced or en-

couraged to undergo such an enterprise, wherein his fellow (though he had resolutely attempted it, and had all might be required for such an action) had so ill successe, and miscarried. **Assassination of the Prince of Orange**

*And in those steps, and with the same weapons, to go and undertake a Lord, armed with so late an instruction of distrust; mighty in friends and followers; puissant of bodily strength: in his owne hall: amidst his servants and garde; and in a City wholly at his devotion. It must of force he saide, that in performing it, he employed a well-directed and resolute hand, and a dreadlesse courage, mooved by a vigorous passion.* A Poynard is more sure to wound a man, which forso-much as it requireth more motion and vigor of the arme, than a pistol, it's stroke is more subject to be hindred or avoyded. That the first ranne not to an assured death, I make no great doubt, for the hopes wherwith he might be entertained could not harbour in a well settled and resolute minde; and the conduct of his exploit, sheweth, he wanted no more that, then courage. The motions of so forcible a perswasion may be divers; for, our fantasie disposeth of her self and of us as she pleaseth. The execution committed neere Orleans had no coherence with this, wherein was more hazard, then vigor; the blow was not mortall, had not fortune made it so: and the enterprise to shoote on horse-backe and far-off, and to one who mooved still according to the motion of his horse; was the attempt of a man that rather loved to misse of his effect, then faile to save himselfe. What followed did manifestly



Assassination  
considered  
a way to  
Paradise

shew it. For, he was so amazed and drunken with the thought of so haughty an execution, as he lost all his senses, both to worke his escape, and direct his tongue in his answers. What needed he have done more, then recover his friends by crossing of a river? It is a meane, wherein I have cast my selfe in farre lesse dangers, and which I thinke of small hazard, how broad soever, alwaies provided your horse find an easie entrance, and on the further side you foresee an easie and shallow landing, according to the course of the streame of the water. The second, when the horrible sentence was pronounced against him, answered stoutly, *I was prepared for it, and I shall amaze you with my patience.* The Assassines, a nation depending of Phoenicia, are esteemed among the Mahometists of a soveraigne devotion and puritie of maners; they hold, that the readiest and shortest way to gaine Paradise, is to kill some one of a contrary religion: therefore hath it often beene seene, that one or two in their bare doublets have undertaken to assault mighty enemies, with the price of an assur'd death, and without any care of their owne danger, And thus was our Earle *Raymond* of *Tripoli* murdered or assassinated (this word is borrowed from their name) in the midst of his Citie, during the time of our warres in the holy land: And likewise *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrato* his murtherers being brought to their torture; were seene to swel with pride, that they had performed so worthy an exploit.

## CHAP. XXX

## Of a monstrous Child

THIS discourse shall passe single, for I leave it to Physitions to treat of. I saw two dayes since a child, whom two men and a nurse (which named themselves to be his father, his Uncle, and his Aunt) carried about with intent to get some money with the sight of him, by reason of his strangenes. In all the rest, he was as other children are, he stood upon his feete, went and pratted in a maner as all others of his age: He would never take nourishment, but by his nurses breast; and what in my presence was offred to be put in his mouth, he chewed a little, and put it all out againe. His puling differed somewhat from others: He was just fourteene moneths olde. Under his paps he was fastned and joyned to an other child, but had no head, and who had the conduite of his backe stopped, the rest whole. One of his armes was shorter then the other, and was by accident broken at their birth. They were joyned face to face, and as if a little child would embrace another somewhat bigger. The joyning and space whereat they were closed together, was but foure inches broad, or thereabouts; in such sort that if you thrust up the imperfect child, you might see under the others navill. And the seame was betweene the paps and his navill.

A freak of Nature

Civil divisions The navill of the imperfect one could not be seene, but all the rest of his belly might. Thus, what of the imperfect one was not joynd, as armes, buttockes, thighes and legges, did hang and shake upon the other, whose length reached to the middle-leg of the other perfect. His Nurce told me, he made water by both privities. The members of the little one were nourished, living, and in the same state as the others, except only, they were lesse and thinner. This double body, and these different members, having reference to one onely head, might serve for a favorable prognostication to our King, to maintaine the factions and differing parties of this our kingdome under an unities of the lawes. But least the successe should prove it contrary, it is not amisse to let him runne his course: For in things already past their need no divination. *Ut quum facta sunt, tum ad conjecturam aliqua interpretatione revocantur* (Cic. Divin. ii.): So as when they are done, they then by some construction should be revoked to conjecture: As it is reported of *Epi-menides*, who ever divined backward. I come now from seeing of a shepheard at *Medoc*, of thirtie yeares of age, or thereabouts, who had no signe at all of genitorie parts: But where they should be, are three little holes, by which his water doth continually tril from him. This poore man hath a beard, and desireth still to be fumbling of women. *Those which we call monsters are not so with God, who in the immensitie of his worke seeth the infinitie of formes therein contained.* And it may be thought, that any figure

[which] doth amaze us, hath relation unto some other figure of the same kinde, although unknown unto man. *From out his all seeing wisdom proceedeth nothing but good, common, regular and orderly; but we neither see the sorting, nor causeive the relation. Quod crebrò videt, non miratur, etiam si, cur fiat, nescit. Quod autè non videt, id, si evenerit, ostentum esse censet (Cic. Divin. ii.). That which he often seeth, he doth not wonder at, though he know not why it is done; But if that happen, which he never saw before, he thinks it some portentuous wonder. Wee call that against nature, which commeth against custome. There is nothing, whatsoever it be, that is not according to him. Let therefore this universall and naturall reason, chase from us the error, and expell the astonishment, which noveltie breedeth, and strangenes causeth in us.*

There is  
nothing  
unnatural

## CHAP. XXXI

### Of anger and choler

*PLUTARKE* is every where admirable, but especially where he judgeth of humane actions. The notable things he reporteth, may be perceived in the comparison of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, speaking of the great simplicity we commit, in leaving yong children under the government and charge of their fathers and parents. Most of our policies, or Common-wealths; saith *Aristotle* (as the Cyclopes were wont) commit the con-

Cruelty  
to boys

1115711

duct of their wives, and charge of their children, to all men, according to their foolish humor or indiscreete fantazies. And well-nigh, none but the Lacedemonian and Cretensian, have resigned the discipline of children to the lawes. *Who seeth not, that in an estate all things depend of nurture and education?* And all the while, without discretion, it is wholly left to the parents mercy, how foolish and wicked soever they be. Amongst other things, how often (walking through our streetes) have I desired to have a play or comedie made in revenge of young boyes, which I sawe thump, misused, and well nigh murdered by some haire-brained, moodie, and through choler-raging Fathers and Mothers, from out whose eyes a man might see sparkles of rage to startle,

—*rabis jecur incendente feruntur*

*Præcipites, ut sana jugis abrupta, quibus mons  
Subtrahitur, clivoque latus pendente recedit:*

—*Juv. Sat. vi. 548.*

They headlong runne with rage, which doth en-  
flame their livers

Like stones that broken fall from mountaine tops  
in shivers,

The hill withdrawes, and they are rould  
From hanging cliffe which leaves their hold,

(And according to *Hippocrates*, the most dangerous infirmities, are those which disfigure the face) and with a loud thundring voice often to follow children that came but lately from nurse; Which after prove lame, maimed, blockish and dul-pated with blowes: And yet our lawes

makes no account of it, as if these spraines, and unjoyntings of limbs, or these maimes were no members of our Common-wealth. Punishment is a physick

*Gratum est quod patrie civem populoque dedisti,  
Si facis ut patrie sit idoneus, utilis agris,  
Utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.*

—Juv. Sat. xiv. 70.

That you to th' countrie give a man, 'tis acceptable;  
If for the countrie fit you make him, for fields able.  
Of peace and warre for all achievements profitable.

*There is no passion so much transports the sinceritie of judgement, as doth anger.* No man would make conscience to punish that Judge by death, who in rage or choler had condemned an offender. And why should fathers be allowed to beate, or schoolemasters be suffered to whip children, or to punish them being angry? It is no longer correction, but revenge. Punishment is unto children as physicke; and would any man endure a physicion, that were angrie and wroth against his patient? Our selves (did we well) during the time of our anger, should never lay hands on our servants. So long as our pulse panted, and we feele any concitation, so long remit we the partie: And things will seeme farre otherwise unto us, if we once come to our senses againe, and shall better bethinke us. Then is it passion that commandes. It is passion that speaketh and not we. Athwart it, faults seeme much greater unto us, as bodies doe athwart a foggy mist. Who so is hungry, useth meat, but who so will use chastisement, should never hunger.

No  
flogging  
should be  
given in  
anger

nor thirst after it. Moreover, corrections given with discretion and moderation, are more gently received, and with more good to him that receiveth them. Otherwise hee shall never thinke to have beene justly condemned, by a man who is transported by rage and choler, and for his justification alleadgeth the extraordinary motions of his maister, the inflammation of his face, his unwonted oaths, his chafing, his unquietnesse and his rash precipitation.

*Ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine vena:  
Lumina Gorgoneo saevius igne micant.*

—OVID. *Art. Am.* iii. 53.

The face with anger swelles, the veines grow blacke with blood,  
The eyes more fiercely shine then *Gorgons* fierie moode.

*Suctonius* writeth, that *Caius Rabirius*, having by *Cesar* been condemned, nothing did him so much good toward the people (to whom he appealed) to make him obtain his suite, as the sharpnes and over boldnes which *Cesar* had declared in that judgement. *Saying is one thing, and doing another. A man must consider the Sermon apart and the preacher severall.* Those have made themselves good sport, who in our dayes have gone about to checke the veritie of our Church, by the ministers vice: She fetcheth hir testimonie from elsewhere. It is a foolish manner of arguing, and which would soone reduce all things to a confusion. *An honest man may sometimes have false opinions, and a wicked man may preach truth:*

*Yea such a one as beleeves it not. Verely, it is a pleasing harmonic, when doing and saying goe together.* And I will not deny, but saying, when deeds follow, is of more efficacie and authoritie: As said *Eudamidas*, when he heard a Philosopher discourse of warre: *These speeches are good, but he that speaks them, is not to be beleeved,* For his cares were never acustomed to heare the clang of trumpets, nor rattling of drums. And *Cleomenes* hearing a Rhetoritian speake of valour, burst out into an extreame laughter: Whereat the other being offended, he said unto him: *I would doe as much if it were a Swallow should speake of it, but were he an Eagle, I should gladly heare him.* Me seemeth I perceive in ancient mens writings, that he who speaks what he thinketh, toucheth nearer the quick, then he who counterfaits. Heare *Cicero* speak of the love of libertie; then listen to *Brutus*; their very wordes will tell you and sound in your eare, the latter was a man readie to purchase it with the price of his life. Let *Cicero*, that father of eloquence treat of the contempt of death, and let *Seneca* discourse of the same; the first drawes it on languishing, and you shall plainly perceive, he would faine resolve you of a thing, whereof he is not yet resolved himselfe. He giveth you no heart, for himselfe hath none: Whereas the other doth rowze, animate and inflame you. I never looke upon an Author, be they such as write of vertue and of actions, but I curiously endeavor to finde out what he was himselfe. For, the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, hearing a dissolute liver propose a very beneficial advise

Saying  
and  
Doing



Plutarch's slave unto the people, commanded him to hold his peace, and desired an honest man to assume the invention of it unto himselfe and to propound it. *Plutarkes* compositions, if they be well savored, doe plainly manifest the same unto us: And I am perswaded I know him inwardly: Yet would I be glad, we had some memories of his owne life: And by the way I am false into this discourse, by reason of the thanks I owe unto *Aulus Gellius*, in that he hath left us written this storie of his manners, which fitteth my subject of anger. A slave of his, who was a lewd and vicious man, but yet whose eares were somewhat fedde with Philosophicall documents, having for some faults by him committed, by the commandement of *Plutarkes* his master, been stripped naked, whilst another servant of his whipped him, grombled in the beginning, that he was whipped without reason, and had done nothing: But in the end, mainly crying out, he fell to raling and wronging his master, upbraiding him that he was not a true Philosopher, as he wanted himselfe to be, and how he had often heard him say, that, *it was an unseemely thing in a man to be angry.* And that he had made a booke of it: And now all plunged in rage, and engulfed in choler to cause him so cruelly to be beaten, was cleane contrarie to his owne writing. To whom *Plutarkes* with an unaltered, and milde-settled countenance, said thus unto him. What? Thou raskall, whereby dost thou judge I am now angry? Doth my countenance, doth my voice, doth my colour, or doth my speech give thee

any testimony, that I am either moved or cholericke? Me seemeth, mine eyes are not staringly-wilde, nor my face troubled, nor my voice frightful or distempered: Doe I waxe red? Doe I foame at the mouth? Doth any word escape me I may repent hereafter? Doe I startle and quake? Doe I rage and ruffle with anger? For, to tel thee true, these are the right signes of choler and tokens of anger. Then turning to the party that whipped him; continue still thy worke, quoth he, whilst this fellow and I dispute of the matter. This is the report of *Gellius*. *Architas Tarentinus* returning from a war, where he had bene Captaine generall, found his house all out of order, husbandrie all spoiled, and by the ill government of his Bailife, his ground all waste and unmanured; and having called for him, said thus; *Away bad man, for if I were not angrie, I would have thee whipt for this.* *Plato* likewise, being vexed and angrie with one of his slaves, commaunded *Speusippus* to punish him, excusing himselfe, that now being angrie he would not lay hands upon him. *Charilus* the Lacedemonian, to one *Helot* who behaved himself over insolently and audaciously towards him; *By the Gods* (saith he) *If I were not now angry, I would presently make thee die.* It is a passion which pleaseth and flattereth it selfe. How many times being moved, by any false suggestion, if at that instant we be presented with any lawfull defence or true excuse, doe we fall into rage against truth and innocencie it

Re-  
strained  
anger

Piso's selfe? Touching this purpose, I have retained  
 anger a wonderfull example of antiquitie. *Piso*, in  
 divers other respects a man of notable vertue,  
 being angrie, and chafing with one of his Souldiers,  
 who returning from forage or boot-haling, could not  
 give him an accompt where he had left a fellow-Souldier  
 of his, and thereupon concluding he had killed or made  
 him away, forthwith condemned him to be hanged. And  
 being upon the gallows ready to dye; behold his  
 companion, who had stragled abroad, comming home,  
 whereat all the army rejoyced very much, and after  
 many embracings and signes of joy between the two  
 souldiers, the hangman brought both unto *Piso*; al  
 the company hoping, it wold be a great pleasure  
 unto him; but it fel out cleane contrary, for through  
 shame and spite his wrath still burning was redoubled,  
 and with a slie devise his passion instantly presented  
 to his mind, he made three guiltie, forsomuch as one  
 of them was found innocent; and caused them all  
 three to bee dispatched. The first Souldier because  
 he was alreadie condemned; the second, which had  
 stragled abroad, by reason he was the cause of his  
 fellowes death; and the hangman, for that he had  
 not fulfilled his Generalls commandement. Those  
 who have to deale with froward and skittish women  
 have no doubt seene what rage they wil fal into,  
 if when they are most angrie and chafing, a man  
 be silent and patient, and disdaine to foster their  
 anger and wrath. *Celsus* the Orator was by nature  
 exceeding fretfull and cholerike. To one who

was with him at supper, a man of a milde and gentle conversation, and who because he would not move him, seemed to approve what ever he said, and yeeld to him in every thing; as unable to endure his peevishnes should so passe without some nourishment, burst out into a rage, and said unto him; *For the love of God deny me something, that we may be two.* So women are never angrie, but to the end a man should againe be angrie with them, therein imitating the lawes of Love. *Phocion* to a man who troubled his discourse with brawling and skolding at him, in most injurious manner, did nothing else but hold his peace, and give him what leasure he would to vent his choler; which done, without taking any notice of it, began his discourse againe where he had left it off. *There is no reply so sharpe as such silent contempt.* Of the most cholericke and testie man of *France* (which is ever an imperfection, but more excusable in a military man; for it must needes be granted, there are in that profession some men who cannot well avoyde it) I ever say, he is the patientest man I knowe to bridle his choler; it mooveth and transporteth him with such furie and violence,

No reply  
so sharp  
as silent  
contempt

—*magno veluti cum flamma sonore  
Virgea suggeritur costis undantis aheni,  
Exultantque astu latentes, furit intus aquas  
Fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis,  
Nec jam se capit unda, volat vapor ater ad auras,*  
—VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 462.

As when a fagot flame with hurring sounds  
Under the ribbes of boyling cauldron lies,

Whether  
is it  
better  
to beat a  
boy than  
to act a  
lie?

The water swelles with heat beyond the bounds,  
Whence steeming streames raging and foming  
rise;

Water out-runns it selfe, blacke vapors flye to  
skies.

that he must cruelly enforce himselfe to moderate the same. And for my part, I know noe passion I were able to smother with such temper and abide with such resolution. I would not set wisdome at so high a rate. I respect not so much what he doth, as how much it costs him not to doe worse. Another boasted in my presence, of his behaviours order and mildenesse, which in truth is singular: I tolde him, that indeed it was much, namely in men of so eminent quality, as himselfe was, on whom all eyes are fixed, alwaies to shew himselfe in a good temper: but that the chieftest point consisted in providing inwardly and for himselfe; and that in mine opinion, it was no discreet part inwardly to fret: which, to maintaine that marke and formall outward apparance, I feared hee did. *Choler is incorporated by concealing and smothering the same, as Diogenes said to Demosthenes, who fearing to be seene in a Taverne, withdrew himselfe into the same: The more thou recoylest back, the further thou goest into it. I would rather perswade a man, though somewhat out of season, to give his boy a wherret on the care, then to dissemble this wise, sterne or severe countenance, to vex and fret his minde. And I would rather make shew of my passions, then smother them to my*

cost: which being vented and exprest, become more languishing and weake: Better it is to let its pointe worke outwardly, then bend it against our selves. *Omnia vitia in aperto leviora sunt: et tunc perniciosissima, quum simulata sanitate subsidunt* (SEN. *Epist.* lvi.). All vices are then lesse perillous when they lie open to bee scene, but then most pernicious, when they lurke under counterfeited soundnesse. I ever warne those of my household, who by their offices-authoritie may sometimes have occasion to be angry, first to husband their anger; then not employ it upon every slight cause; for that empeacheth the effect and worth of it. Rash and ordinary brawling is converted to a custome, and that's the reason each man contemnes it: That which you employ against a servant for any theiving, is not perceived, because it is the same he hath sundry times scene you use against him, if he have not washt a glasse well or misplaced a stoole. Secondly, that they be not angry in vaine, but ever have regard their chiding come to his eares with whom they are offended: for, commonly some will brawle before he come in their presence, and chide a good while after he is gone,

Hidden  
passions  
the most  
harmful

*Et secum petulans amentia certat.*—CLAUD. in *Eu.* i. 48.

Madnesse makes with it selfe a fray,  
Which fondly doth the wanton play.

and wreake their anger against his shadow, and make the storme fall where no man is either chastised or interested, but with the rumour of

Montaigne's  
anger

their voice, and sometimes with such as cannot doe withall. I likewise blame those who being angry, will brave and mutinie when the partie with whom they are offended is not by. These *Rodomantados* must be employed on such as feare them.

*Mugitus veluti cum prima in praelia taurus  
Terrificos ciet, atque irasci in cornua tentat,  
Arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit  
Ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit arena.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* xii. 103.

As when a furious Bull to his first combate mooves  
His terror-breeding lowes, his horne to anger  
prooves,  
Striving against a trees trunk, and the winds with  
strokes,  
His peface made to fight with scattered sand,  
provokes.

When I chance to be angry, it is in the earnestest manner that may be, but yet, as briefly and as secretly, as is possible. I lose my selfe in hastinesse and violence, but not in trouble: So that, let me spend all manner of injurious words at randome and without all heed, and never respect to place my points pertinently, and where they may doe most hurt: For commonly I employ nothing but my tongue. My boyes scape better cheape in great matters, then in smal trifles. Slight occasions surprise me, and the mischief is, that after you are once falne into the pit, it is no matter who thrusts you in, you never cease til you come to the bottome. The fall presseth, hasteneth,

mooveth and furthereth it selfe. In great occasions I am pleased, that they are so just, that every body [expects] a reasonable anger to insue. I glorify my selfe to deceive their expectation. Against these I bandy and prepare my selfe; they make me summon up my wits, and threaten to carry me very farre, if I would follow them. I easily keepe my selfe from falling into them, and if I stay for them, I am strong enough to reject the impulsion of this passion, what violent cause soever it hath. But if it seize upon and once preoccupate me, what vaine cause soever it hath, it doth cleane transport me: I condition thus with those that may contest with me, when you perceive me to be first angry, be it right or wrong, let me hold-on my course, I will do the like to you, when ever it shal come to my lot. The rage is not engendred but by the concurrencie of cholers, which are easily produced one of another, and are not borne at one instant. Let us allow every man his course, so shal we ever be in peace. Oh profitable prescription, but of an hard execution! I shal some time seeme to be angry for the order and direction of my house, without any just emotion; According as my age yeeldeth my humours more sharpe and peevish, so do I endeavour to oppose my selfe against them, and if I can I will hereafter enforce my selfe to be lesse froward and not so teasty, as I shall have more excuse and inclination to bee so; although I have heretofore beene in their number that are least. A word more to conclude this

A soft  
answer  
turneth  
away  
wrath



Anger a doubtful weapon Chapter : *Aristotle* saith, '*Choler doth sometimes serve as armes unto Vertue and Valour.*' It is very likely : notwithstanding such as gaine-say him, answer pleasantly, it is a weapon of a new fashion and strange use : For we moove other weapons, but this mooveth us : our hand doth not guide it, but it directeth our hand ; it holdeth us, and we hold not it.

## CHAP. XXXII

A defence of *Seneca* and *Plutarke*

THE familiarity I have with these two men, and the ayd they affoord me in my olde age, and my Booke meerey framed of their spoiles, bindeth me to wed and maintaine their honour. As for *Seneca*, amongst a thousand petty-Pamphlets, those of the pretended reformed religion have published, for the defence of their cause, which now and then proceede from a good hand, and which, pittie it is, it should not be employed in more serious and better subjects : I have heretofore seene one, who to prolong and fil up the similitude, he would finde betweene the government of our unfortunate late King *Charles* the ninth and that of *Nero*, compareth the whilom Lord Cardinall of *Lorene* unto *Seneca* ; their fortunes to have beene both chiefe men in the government of their Princes, and therewithall their

manners, their conditions and their demeanours : The  
 wherein (in mine opinion) he doth the said French  
 Lord Cardinal great honour : for, although I Cardinal  
 be one of those that highly respect his spirit, and  
 his worth, his eloquence, his zeale toward his Seneca  
 religion and the service of his King ; and his  
 good fortune to have beene borne in an age,  
 wherein hee was so new, so rare, and there-  
 withall so necessary for the common-wealth,  
 to have a Clergie-man of such dignitie and  
 nobility, sufficient and capable of so weighty a  
 charge : yet to confesse the truth, I esteeme  
 not his capacitie such, nor his vertue so ex-  
 quisitely unspotted, nor so entire or constant,  
 as that of *Seneca*. Now this Booke whereof  
 I speake, to come to his intention, maketh a  
 most injurious description of *Seneca*, having  
 borrowed his reproaches from *Dion* the his-  
 torian, to whose testimony I give no credit at  
 all : For besides, he is inconstant, as one who  
 after he hath called *Seneca* exceeding wise, and  
 shortly after termed him a mortal enemy to  
*Neroes* vices, in other places makes him cove-  
 tous, given to usurie, ambitious, base-minded,  
 voluptuous, and under false pretences, and  
 fained shewes, a counterfet Philosopher ; his  
 vertue appeareth so lively, and wisdom so  
 vigorous in his writings ; and the defence of  
 these imputations is so manifest, as wel of his  
 riches, as of his excessive expences, that I  
 beleeve no witness to the contrary. More-  
 over, there is great reason we should rather  
 give credit to Romane Historians in such

Bodin on things, then to Græcians and strangers, whereas  
 Plutarch *Tacitus* and others speake very honourably of  
 his life and death, and in all other circumstance  
 declare him to have beene a most excellent and  
 rarely vertuous man. I wil alleadge no other  
 reproach against *Dions* judgement, then this,  
 which is unavoydable: that is, his understand-  
 ing of the Roman affaires, is so weake and il  
 advised, as he dareth defend and maintaine  
*Julius Casars* cause against *Pompey*, and blusheth  
 not to justifie *Antonius* against *Cicero*. But let  
 us come to *Plutarke*; *John Bodine* is a good  
 moderne Author, and endowed with much  
 more judgement then the common-rabble of  
 Scriblers and blur-papers which now adayes  
 stuffe Stationers shops, and who deserveth to  
 be judged, considered and had in more then  
 ordinary esteeme. Neverthelesse I finde him  
 somewhat malapert and bolde in that passage  
 of his *Methode of Historie*, when he accuseth  
*Plutarke*, not only of ignorance (wherein I  
 would have let him say his pleasure, for that  
 is not within my element) but also that he  
 often writeth things, altogether incredible and  
 meerey fabulous (these are his very words)  
 If he had simply said things otherwise then  
 they are, it had been no great reprehension:  
 for, what we have not scene, we receive from  
 others and upon trust: And I see him some-  
 time, wittingly and in good earnest report one  
 and same story diversly: As, the judgements  
 of three best captaines that ever were, spoken  
 by *Hambal*, is otherwise in *Flaminius* his life,

and otherwise in *Pyrrhus*. But to take him, to have taken incredible, and impossible things for ready payment, is to accuse the [most] judicious author of the World, of want of judgement. And see heere his example: As (saith he) when he reports that a Childe of *Lacedemon* suffered all his belly and guts to be torne out by a Cubbe or young Foxe, which he had stolne, and kept close under his garment, rather then he would discover his theft. First, I finde this example ill chosen: Forasmuch as it is very hard to limit the powers of the soules-faculties, whereas of corporal forces, we have more law to limite and know them: And therefore, had I been to write of such a subject, I would rather have made choyce of an example of this second kind. And some there be lesse credible. As amongst others, that which he reports of *Pyrrhus*, who being sore wounded, gave so great a blow with a sword unto one of his enemies, arm'd at al assayes, and with all pieces, as he cleft him from the crowne of the head down to the groine, so that the body fell in two pieces. In which example I finde no great wonder, nor do I admit of his excuse, wherewith he cloaketh *Plutarke*: to have added this word (as it is said) to forewarne us, and restraîne our beliefe. For, if it be not in things received, by authoritie and reverence of antiquity or religion, neither would himselfe have received, nor proposed to us to believe things in themselves incredible: And that (as it is said) hee doth not here sette

The  
Spartan  
boy and  
the fox

The  
flogging  
of Spar-  
tan boys

downe this phrase to that purpose, may easily be perceived, by what himselfe in other places telleth us upon the subject of the Lacedemonian Childrens patience, of examples happened in his time, much harder to be perswaded: As that which *Cicero* hath also witnessed before him, because, (as he saith) he had been there himselfe; That even in their times there were Children found prepared to endure al maner of patience, whereof they made trial before *Dianaes* Altar, and which suffered themselves to bee whipped, till the blood trilled downe al parts of their body, not onely without crying, but also without sobbing: and some who voluntarily suffered themselves to bee scourged to death. And what *Plutarke* also reporteth, and a hundreth other witnesses averre, that assisting at a sacrifice, a burning coale happened to fall into the sleeve of a Lacedemonian childe, as he was busie at incensing, suffered his arme to burne so long, untill the smel of his burnt flesh came to al the by-standers. There was nothing according to their custome, so much called their reputation in question, and for which they endured more blame and shame, than to be surprised stealing. I am so well instructed of those mens greatnes of courage, that this report, doth not only not seeme incredible to me, as to *Bodine*, but I do not so much as deeme it rare, or suppose it strange: The Spartane story is full of thousands of much more rare and cruell examples; then according to this rate, it containeth nothing but miracle.

Concerning this point of stealing, *Marcellinus* reporteth, that whilst hee lived, there could never be found any kinde of torment that might in any sort compell the Egyptians surprized filching (which was much used amongst them) to confesse and tell but their names. A Spanish Peasant being laide upon the racke, about the complices of the murder of the Pretor *Lucius Piso*, in the midst of his torments cried out, his friends should not stir, but with al security assist him, and that it was not in the power of any grieffe or paine to wrest one word of confession from him: and the first day nothing else could possibly be drawn from him. The next morrow as he was led toward the rack, to be tormented a new, he by strong violence freed himselfe from out his keepers hands, and so furiously ranne with his head against a wall, that he burst his braines out, and presently fel down dead. *Epicbaris*, having glutted and wearied the moody cruelty of *Neroes* Satellites or officers, and stoutly endured their fire, their beatings, and their engins a whole day long, without any one voyce, or word of revealing hir conspiracy, and the next day after, being againe brought to the torture, with hir limbs bruized and broken, convayed the lace or string of hir gowne over one of the pillers of the Chaire wherein she sate, with a sliding knot in it into which sodainly thrusting her head, she strangled her selfe with the weight of hir body: Having the courage to dye so, and steale from the first torments;

Courage  
under  
torture

Con-  
stancy  
in Mon-  
taigne's  
days

seemeth she not purposely to have lent her life to the trial of hir patience of the precedent day, only to mocke that Tyrant, and encourage others to attempt the like enterprize against him? And he that shall enquire of our Argollettiers or Free-booters, what experiences they have had in these our late civil wars, shall no doubt find effects and examples of patience, of obstinacy and stif-neckednes in these our miserable dayes, and amidst the effeminate, and puling worldlings far beyond the Egyptian, and well worthie to be compared to those alreadie reported of Spartan vertue. I know, there have been found seely boores, who have rather endure to have their feet broiled upon a Greedyron, their fingers ends crusht and wrung with the lock of a Pistoll, their eyes all bloody to be thrust out of their heads with wringing and wresting of a cord about their foreheads, before they would so much as be ransomed. I have seene and spoken with one who had beene left al naked in a ditch for dead, his necke all bruised and swolne, with a halter about it, wherewith he had beene dragged a whole night at a horses taile through thick and thin, with a 100. thrusts in his body, given him with daggers, not to kill him outright, but to grieve and terrifie him, and who had patiently endured all that, and lost both speech and sense, fully resolved (as himselfe told me) rather to die a thousand deaths (as verily, if you apprehend what he suffered, he past more then one full death) then promise any ransome; yet

was he one of the wealthiest husbandmen in all his country. How many have bin scene, who have patiently endured to be burnt and roasted for unknown and wilful opinions, which they had borrowed of others: My selfe have knowne a hundred and a hundred women (for, the saying is, Gaskoine heads have some prerogative in that) whom you might sooner have made to bite a red-hot piece of iron, then recant an opinion, they had conceived in anger. They will be exasperated and grow more fell against blowes and compulsion. And he who first invented the tale of that woman, which by no threats or stripes, would leave to call her husband pricke-lowse, and being cast into a pond and duct under water, lifted up her hands, and joyning her two thumbs-nailes in act to kill like above her head, seemed to call him lousie stil, devised a fable, whereof in truth we dayly see the expres image in divers womens obstinacie and wilfulness. And yet *obstinacy is the sister of constancy* at least in vigor and stedfastnesse.

A man must not judge that which is possible, and that which is not, according to that which is credible and incredible to our sense and understanding, as I have already said elsewhere. And it is a great fault, wherein the greater number of men doe dayly fall (I speake not this of *Bodine*) to make a difficulty in believing that of others, which themselves neither can nor would doe. Every man perswades himselfe, that the chiefe forme of humane nature is in himselfe; according to her, must all others be directed. The pro-

Incredible  
things  
often  
possible



Montaigne follows the wise of old

ceedings that have no reference to hirs, are false and fained. Is any thing proposed unto him of another mans faculties or actions? The first thing he calls to the judgement of his consultation, is his owne examples; according as it goeth in him, so goeth the worlds order. Oh dangerous sottishnesse, and intolerable foppery! I consider some men a farre-off, beyond and above my selfe, namely amongst those ancient ones: and though I manifestly acknowledge mine owne insufficiencie to follow or come neere them by a thousand paces, I cease not to keepe them still in view, and to judge of those wardes and springs that raise them so high; the seedes whereof I somewhat perceive in my selfe: as likewise I doe of the mindes extreame basenes which amazeth me nothing at all, and I misbelieve no more. I see the turne those give to wind up themselves, and I admire their greatnesse, and those starts which I perceive to be so wondrous faire, I embrace them: and if with my strength I reach not unto them, at least my judgement doth most willingly apply it selfe unto them. The other example he alledgeth of things incredible, and altogether fabulous, reported by *Plutarke*, is, that *Agesilaus* was fined by the Ephories, because he had drawne the hearts and good wills of al his fellow-citizens unto himselfe alone. I know not what marke of falsehood, or shew of impossibilitie he findes in it; but so it is, that *Plutarke* speaks there of things which in al likelyhood were better knowne to him, then to us: And as

it was not strange in *Greece*, to see men punished and exiled, onely because they were too popular, and pleased the common people over much. Witnessse the *Ostracisme* amongst the Athenians, and the *Petalisme* among the Siracusans. There is another accusation in the same place, which for *Plutarques* sake doth somewhat touch me, where he saith, that he hath very well and in good truth sorted the Romanes with the Romanes, and the Græcians amongst themselves, but not the Romanes with the Græcians, witnessse (saith he) *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, *Cato* and *Aristides*, *Sylla* and *Lysander*, *Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*; *Pompey* and *Agésilas*, deeming thereby that he hath favoured the Græcians, in giving them so unequal companions. It is a just reproving of that, which is most excellent and commendable in *Plutarke*: For, in his comparisons (which is the most admirable part of his worke, and wherein in mine opinion he so much pleased himselfe) the faithfulnessse and sinceritie of his judgement equalleth their depth and weight. He is a Philosopher that teacheth us vertue. But let us see, whether we can warrant him from this reproch of prevarication and falsehood. That which I imagine hath given occasion or ground to this judgement is, that great and farre-spreading lustre of the Romane names, which still are tingling in our eares, and never out of our mindes. Wee doe not thinke *Demosthenes* may equall the glory of a Consul, of a Proconsul and a Questor of this great common wealth of *Rome*. But he that shall impartially con-

Plu-  
tarch's  
Lives

Plutarck's  
compari-  
sons

sider the truth of the matter, and men in themselves, which *Plutarke* did chiefly aime at, and more to balance their custome, their naturall dispositions and their sufficiencie, then their fortune: I am of a cleane opposite opinion to *Bodine*, and thinke that *Cicero* and old *Cato* are much behind or short of their parallels. For this purpose, I would rather have chosen the example of young *Cato* compared to *Phecion*: for in that paire might well be found a more likely disparitie for the Romanes advantage. As for *Marcellus*, *Sylla* and *Pompey*, I see very well, how their exploits of warre, be more swolne, glorious and pompous, then the Græcians; whom *Plutarke* compareth unto them; but the most vertuous, and fairest actions, no more in warre, then elsewhere, are not alwaies the most famous. I often see the names of some Captaines smothered under the brightnesse of other names of lesser desert, witness *Labienuis*, *Ventidius*, *Telesinus* and divers others. And to take him in that sense, were I to complaine for the Græcians, might not I say, that *Camillus* is much lesse comparable unto *Themistocles*, the *Gracchi* to *Agis* and *Gleomenes*, and *Numa* to *Lycurgus*? But it is follie at one glance to judge of things with so many and divers faces. When *Plutarke* compares them, he doth not for all that equall them. Who could more eloquently, and with more conscience note their differences? Doth he compare the victories, the exploits of armes, the power of the armies conducted by *Pompey* and his triumphs unto those of *Agesilaus*? I do

not believe (saith he) that *Xenophon* himself of Greeks  
(were he living) though it were granted him and  
to write his pleasure for the advantage of *Agesilaus* Romans  
durst ever dare to admit any comparison  
betweene them: Seemeth he to equall *Lysander*  
to *Sylla*? There is no comparison (saith he)  
neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of  
battels betweene them: for, *Lysander* onely ob-  
tained two sea-battels etc. This is no derogation  
from the *Romans*. If hee have but simply  
presented them unto the *Græcians*, what ever  
disparity may bee betweene them, he hath not  
in any sort wronged them. And *Plutarch* doth  
not directly counterpoise them. In some there  
is none preferred before others; He compareth  
the parts and the circumstances one after another,  
and severally judgeth of them. If therefore any  
would goe about to convince him of favour,  
he should narrowly sift out some particular  
judgement; or in generall and plaine termes  
say, hee hath missed in sorting such a *Græcian*  
to such a *Roman*, forasmuch as there are other  
more sortable and correspondent, and might better  
be compared, as having more reference one unto  
another.

## CHAP. XXXIII

The Historie of *Spurina*

PHILOSOPHY thinketh, she hath not ill  
employed hir meanes, having yeilded the  
soveraign rule of our mind, and the authoritie to

**Shirts of** restraints our appetites, unto reason. **hair-cloth** Amongst which, those who judge there is none more violent, than those which love begetteth, have this for their opinion, that they holde both of body and soule; and man is wholly possessed with them: so that health it selfe depended of them, and physick is sometimes constrained to serve them in stead of a Pandership. But contrariwise, a man might also say, that the commixture of the body doth bring abatement and weaknesse unto them; because such desires are subject to satiety and capable of materiall remedies. Many who have endeavored to free and exempt their mindes from the continuall alarumes, which this appetite did assail them with, have used incisions, yea and cut-off the mooving, turbulent and unruly parts. Others have alayed the force and fervency of them by frequent applications of cold things, as snow and vineger. The haire-cloths which our forefathers used to weare for this purpose, wherof some made shirts, and some wastebands or girdles, to torment their reines. A Prince told me not long since, that being very yong, and waiting in the Court of King *Francis* the first, upon a solemne festival day, when all the Court endeavored to be in their best clothes, a humor possessed him to put-on a shirt of haire-cloth, which he yet keepeth, and had beene his fathers; but what devotion soever possessed him, he could not possibly endure untill night to put it off againe, and was sick a long time after, protesting he thought no youthly heat could be so violent,

but the use of this receipt would coole and alay ; of which he perhaps never assayed the strongest : For, experience sheweth us, that such emotion doth often maintaine it selfe under base, rude and slovenly cloathes : and haire cloathes doe not ever make those poore that weare them. *Zenocrates* proceeded more rigorously ; for, his Disciples to make triall of his continencie, having conveyed that beauteous and famous curtizan *Lais* naked into his bed, saving the weapons of her beauty, wanton alurements, and amorous or love-procuring potions, feeling that maugre all Philosophicall discourses, and strict rules, his skittish body beganne to mutinie, he caused those members to be burned, which had listened to that rebellion. Whereas the passions that are in the minde, as ambition, covetousnesse and others, trouble reason much more : for, it can have no ayde but from it's owne meanes ; nor are those appetites capable of saciety, but rather sharpened by enjoying, and augmented by possession. The example alone of *Julius Cæsar* may suffice to shew us the disparitie of these appetites, for never was man more given to amorous delights. The curious and exact care he had of his body, is an authenticallyl wnesse of it, forsomuch as he used the most lascivious meanes that then were in use : as, to have the haire of his body smeered and perfumed al over, with an extreame and labored curiositie ; being of himselfe a goodly personage, white, of a tall and comely stature, of a cheerefull and seemely countenance, his face ful and round, and his eies browne lively,

The care  
Cæsar  
had of  
his body

Amours of Julius Cæsar if at least *Suetonius* may be believed: For, the statues which nowadaies are to be seene of him in *Rome*, answere not altogether this portraiture we speake of. Besides his wives, which he changed foure times, without reckoning the bies, or Amours in his youth with *Nicomedes* King of *Bythinia*, he had the Maiden-head of that so farre, and highly-renowned Queene of *Egypt* *Cleopatra*; witnesse yong *Cæsarion* whom he begotte of hir. He also made love unto *Eunoe* Queene of *Mauritania*, and at *Rome* to *Posthumia*, wife unto *Servius Sulpitius*: to *Lolio* wife to *Gabinus*; to *Tertulla*, of *Crassus*; yea unto *Mutia* wife to great *Pompey*, which as historians say, was the cause hir Husband was divorced from her. Which thing *Plutarke* confesseth not to have knowne. And the *Curions* both father and sonne twitted *Pompey* in the teeth, at what time he took *Cæsars* Daughter to wife, that he made himselfe Sonne in law to one, who had made him Cuckold, and himself was wont to call *Egystus*. Besides all this number, he entertained *Servilia* the sister of *Cato*, and mother to *Marcus Brutus*: whence (as divers hold) proceeded that great affection, he ever bare to *Marcus Brutus*: for his mother bare him at such a time as it was not unlikely he might be borne of him. Thus, (as me seemeth) have I good reason to deeme him a man extremely addicted to all amorous licenciousnesse, and of a wanton-lascivious complexion. But the other passion of ambition, wherewith he was infinitely infected, and much tainted, when he

came once to withstand the same, it made him presently to give ground. And touching this point, when I call *Mabomet* to remembrance (I meane him that subdued *Constantinople*, and who brought the final extermination of the name of Græcians) I know not where these two passions are more equal ballanced: equally an indefatigable letcher, and a never-tired souldier: but when in his life they seeme to strive and concurre one with another, the mutinous heate, doth ever gourmandize the amorous flame. And the latter, although out of naturall season did never attain to a full and absolutely authority, but when he perceived himself to be so aged that he was utterly unable longer to undergoe the burthen of War. That which is alledged, as an example on the contrary side of *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*, is very wel worth the noting, who though he were an excellent, couragious and ambitious Captaine, proposed unto himselfe, as the principall scope of his ambition, the execution of his sensuality, and enjoying of some rare and unmatched beauty. So was his death: Having by a continuall tedious siege brought the City of *Florence* to so narrow a pinch, that the inhabitants were ready to yeeld him the victory, he yeelded the same to them, upon condition they would deliver into his hands a wench of excellent beauty that was in the city, of whom he had heard great commendations; which they were enforced to graunt him, and so by a private injury to warrant the publike ruine of the City. She was the Daughter

and of  
other  
warriors



The poisoned handkerchief of a notable rare Phisician and whilst he lived chiefe of his profession: Who seeing himselfe engaged in so stuprous a necessitie, resolved upon an haughty enterprize; Whilst all were busie adorning his daughter, and besetting her with costly jewels, that she might the more delight and please this new Kingly lover, he also gave her an exquisitely-wrought, and sweetly-perfumed handkercher, to use in their first approches and embracements, a thing commonly in use amongst the Women of that Country. This Handkercher strongly empoysoned according to the cunning skill of his Art, comming to wipe both their enflamed secret parts and open pores, did so readily convey and disperse it's poyson, that having sodainly changed the heate into colde, they immediately deceased one in anothers armes. But I will now returne to *Cesar*. His pleasures could never make him lose one minute of an houre, nor turne one step from the occasions, that might any way further his advancement. This passion did so sovereignly oversway all others, and possessed his mind with so uncontroled an authority, that shee carryed him whither she list. Truly I am grieved, when in other things I consider this mans greatnesse, and the wondrous parts that were in him; so great sufficiencie in all maner of knowledge and learning, as there is almost no science wherein he hath not written. Hee was so good an Orator, that diverse have preferred his eloquence before *Ciceroes*: And

Cato and  
Caesar

himselfe (in mine opinion) in that facultie thought himselfe nothing short of him. And his two *Anti-Catoes*, were especially written to over-balance the eloquence which *Cicero* had employed in his *Cato*. And for all other matters; was ever minde so vigilant, so active, and so patient of labour as his? And doubtlesse, it was also embellished with sundry rare seedes of vertue. I meane lively, naturall and not counterfeits. He was exceeding sober, and so homely in his feeding, that *Oppius* reporteth: how upon a time, through a certaine Cookes negligence, his meat being dressed with a kind of medicinable Oyle, in stead of Olive-oyle, and so brought to the boorde, although he found it, yet he fed hartily of it, only because he would not shame his Hoste: Another time he caused his Baker to be whipped, because he had served him with other, than common household bread. *Cato* himselfe was wont to say of him, that he *was the first sober man, had adrest himselfe to the ruine of his country.* And whereas the same *Cato* called him one day drunkard, it hapned in this maner. Being both together in the Senate house, where *Catelines* conspiracie was much spoken of, wherein *Caesar* was greatly suspected to have a hand; a note was by a friend of his brought, and in very secret sort delivered him, which *Cato* perceiving, supposing it might be something, that the Conspirators advertized him of, instantly summoned him to shew it, which *Caesar* to avoid a greater suspicion, refused not: It was by

**Char-** chance an amorous letter, which *Servilia Catoes*  
**acter of** sister writ to him: *Cato* having read it, threw it  
 at him, saying, hold it againe thou drunkard.  
 I say, it was rather a word of disdain and  
 anger, than an expres reproch of this vice; as  
 often we nick-name those that anger us, with  
 the first nick-names of reproaches, that come  
 into our mouth, though meerely impertinent to  
 those with whom we fall out. Considering,  
 that the vice wherewith *Cato* charged him,  
 hath neare coherencie unto that, wherein he had  
 surpris'd *Cesar*: for *Venus* and *Bacchus* (as  
 the vulgar Proverbe saith) agree well together;  
 but with me *Venus* is much more blith and game-  
 some, being accompanied with sobrietie.

The examples of his mildenes and clemencie,  
 toward such as had offended him, are infinite:  
 I meane, besides those he shewed during the  
 civill warres, which (as by his own writings  
 may plainly appeare) he used to blandish and  
 allure his enemies, to make them feare his future  
 domination and victories the lesse. But if any  
 shall say, those examples are not of validitie to  
 witnes his genuine and natural affabilitie, we  
 may lawfully answeare, that at least they shew  
 us a wonderfull confidence, and greatnes of  
 courage to have been in him. It hath often  
 befallen him, to send whole armies backe again  
 to his enemies, after he had vanquished them,  
 without dayning to binde them so much, as  
 with an oath, if not to favour, at least not to  
 beare armes against him. He hath three or  
 foure times taken some of *Pompeyes* chief Cap-

Julius  
Cæsar

taines prisoners, and as often set them at libertie againe. *Pompey* declared all such as would not follow and accompany him in his wars, to be his enemies; and he caused those to be proclaimed as friends, who either would not stirre at all, or not effectually arme themselves against him. To such of his Captaines as fled from him, to procure other conditions he sent them their weapons, their horses and all other furniture. The Citties he had taken, by maine force, he freed to follow what faction they would, giving them no other garison, then the mæmorie of his clemencie and mildnes. In the day of his great battail of *Pharsalia*, he expresly inhibited, that unles they were driven to unavoydable extremitie, no man should lay hands upon any Romane cittizen. In my judgement these are very hazardous partes, and it is no wonder, if in the civill warres tumultuous broiles, we have now on foote, those that fight for the ancient lawes and state of their country, as he did, doe not follow and imitate the example. They are extraordinary meanes, and which onely belongs to *Cæsars* fortune, and to his admirable fore-sight, succesfully to direct, and happily to conduct them. When I consider the incomparable greatnesse and unvaluable worth of his minde, I excuse Victorie, in that shee could not well give him over, in this most unjust and unnatural cause. But to returne to his clemencie; we have diverse genuine and lively examples, even in the time of his al-swaying government, when all things were reduced into his hands, and hee needed no longer to dissemble. *Caius Memmius*,

**Cæsar's** had written certaine detracting and railing ora-  
**magna-** tions against him, which he at full and most  
**nimity** sharpely had answered, neverthelesse hee shortly  
 after helped to make him Consul. *Caius Calvus*,  
 who had composed diverse most injurious Epi-  
 grams against him, having employed sundrie of  
 his friendes to bee reconciled to him againe,  
*Cæsar* descended to write first unto him. And  
 our good *Catullus*, who under the name of  
*Mamurra* had so rudely and bitterly railed  
 against him, at last comming to excuse him-  
 selfe, *Cæsar* that very night made him to suppe  
 at his owne table. Having beene advertised how  
 some were overlavish in rayling against him, all  
 he did was but in a publike oration to declare  
 how he was advertised of it. His enemies, he  
 feared lesse then he hated them. Certaine con-  
 spiracies and conventicles were made against his  
 life, which being discovered unto him, he was  
 contented by an edict to publish, how he was  
 throughly enformed of them, and never pro-  
 secuted the Authors. Touching the respect he  
 ever bare unto his friendes; *Caius Oppius* travel-  
 ling with him, and falling very sick, having but  
 one chamber, he resigned the same unto him,  
 and himselfe was contented to lie all night  
 abroad and upon the bare ground. Concern-  
 ing his justice, he caused a servant of his whom  
 he exceedingly loved, to be executed, forso-  
 much as he had laine with the wife of a Roman  
 Knight, although no man sued or complained  
 of him. Never was man, that shewed more  
 moderation in his victorie, or more resolution

in his adverse fortune. But all these noble His ambi-  
tion inclinations, rich gifts, worthy qualities, were altered, smothered and eclipsed by this furious passion of ambition; by which he suffered himselfe to be so farre mis-led, that it may be well affirmed, she onely ruled the Sterne of all his actions. Of a liberall man, she made him a common theefe, that so he might the better supply his profusion and prodigalitie; and made him utter that vile and most injurious speech; that if the wickedest and most pernicious men of the world, had for his service and furtherance beene faithfull unto him, he would to the utmost of his power have cherished and preferred them, as well as if they had beene the honestest: It so besotted, and as it were made him drunke with so extreame vanitie, that in the presence of all his fellow-cittizens he durst vaunt himselfe, to have made that great and farre-spread Romane Common-wealth, a shapelesse and bodillesse name; and pronounce, that his Sentences or Answers should thence forward serve as Lawes: And sitting, to receive the whole bodie of the Senate comming toward him: and suffer himselfe to be adored: and in his presence divine honours to be done him. To conclude, this only vice (in mine opinion) lost, and overthrew in him the fairest naturall and richest ingenuitie that ever was; and hath made his memorie abhominable to all honest mindes, insomuch as by the ruine of his countrey, and subversion of the mightiest state and most flourishing Common-wealth, that ever the world shall see, he

An excessive care for the went about to procure his glorie. A man might contrariwise finde diverse examples of greate persons, whom pleasure hath made to forget the conduct of their owne affaires, as *Marcus Antonius*, and others: but where love and ambition should be in one equall balance and with like forces mate one another, I will never doubt but *Cæsar* would gaine the prize and gole of the victorie. But to come into my path againe. It is much, by discourse of reason, to bridle our appetites, or by violence to force our members to containe themselves within the bonds of dutie. But to whippe us for the interest of our neighbours, not only to shake off this sweete pleasing passion, which tickleth us with selfe-joying pleasure, we apprehend and feele to see our selves gratefull to others, and of all men beloved and sued unto: but also to hate and scorne those graces, which of it are the cause; and to condemne our beauty, because some others will be set on fire with it, I have seene few examples like to this. *Spurina* a yong Gentleman of *Thuscanie*,

*Qualis gemma micat [fulvum] quæ dividit aurum,  
Aut collo decus aut capiti, vel quate per artem,  
Inclusum buxo aut Erixia terebintho,  
Lucet ebur.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* x. 134.

As when a precious stone cleare rayes doth spread,  
Set in pure golde, adorning necke or head:  
Or as faire Iv'ry shines in boxe enclos'd,  
Or workemanly with Mountaine gumme dispos'd.

being endowed with so alluringly-excessive and singular beautie, that the chastest eyes could not possibly gainstand or continently resist the spark-

ling glances thereof, not contented to leave so great a flame succourlesse, or burning fever remediesse, which he in all persons, and every where enkindled, entred into so furious despite against himselfe, and those rich gifts, nature had so prodigally conferred upon him (as if they must beare the blame of others faults) that with gashes, and skars, he wittingly maagled, and voluntarily cut that perfect proportion and absolute feature, which nature had so curiously observed in his unmatched face; whereof to speake my opinion, such outrages are enemies to my rules. I rather admire, then honour such actions. His intent was commendable, and his purpose conscientious, but in my seeming somewhat wanting of wisdom. What? if his deformitie or uglinesse was afterward an instrument to induce others to fall into the sinne of contempt and vice of hatred, or fault of envy for the glory of so rare commendation; or of slander, interpreting his humour to be a frantieke ambition; Is there any forme, whence vice (if so it please) may not wrest an occasion, in some manner to exercise it selfe? It had beene more just and therewithall more glorious, of so rare gifts of God, to have made a subject of exemplar vertue and orderly methode. Those which sequester themselves from publike offices, and from this infinite number of thornie and so many-faced rules, which in civill life, binde a man of exact honesty and exquisite integritie: in mine opinion reape a goodly commoditie, what peculiar sharpnesse soever they enjoyne themselves. *It is a*

salvation  
of our  
neigh-  
bours



**Moderation harder than abstinence** kinde of death, to avoide the paine of well-doing, or trouble of well-living. They may have another prise, but the prise of uneasines me thinks they never had. Nor that in difficulty, there be any thing that is amid the waves of the worldly multitude, beyond keeping himselfe upright and untainted, answering loyally and truly discharging al members and severall parts of his charge. It is happily more easie for one, in honest sort to neglect and passe over all the sexe, then duely and wholly to maintaine himselfe in his wives company. And a man may more incuriously fall into povertie, then into plenteousnesse; being justly dispenced. Custome, according to reason, doth leade to more sharpnesse then abstinence hath. *Moderation is a vertue much more toylesome, then sufferance.* The chaste and well living of yong *Scipio*, hath a thousand severall fashions; that of *Diogenes* but one. This doth by so much more exceed all ordinary lives in innocencie and unspottednesse, as those which are most exquisite and accomplished, exceed in profit and out-goe it in force.

#### CHAP. XXXIV

Observations concerning the meanes to warre  
after the maner of *Jullus Cæsar*

**I**T is reported of divers chiefe Generals in warre, that they have particularly affected some peculiar book or other: as, *Alexander* the

great highly esteem'd. *Homer*; *Scipio Affricanus*; *Xenophon*; *Marcus Brutus*, *Polybius*; *Charles* the fifth, *Philip de Comines*: And it is lately averred, that in some places, and with some men, *Ma-chiavell* is much accompted of: But our late Marshall *Strozzi*, who had made especiall choise to love *Cæsar*; without doubt, I thinke of all other chose best: for truely he ought to be the Breviary of all true Souldiers, as being the absolute and perfect chiefe patterne of Military profession. And God hee knowes with what grace, and with what decorum, hee hath embellished this rich subject, with so pure a kinde of speech, so pleasing and so absolutely perfect, that to my taste, there are no writings in the world, which in this subject may be compared to his. I will heere register certaine particular and rare parts concerning his maner of War, which yet remaine in my memory. His Armie being somewhat afrighted, upon the report that ranne of the great forces, which *K. Juba* brought against him, in stead of abating the opinion his souldiers had conceived of it, and to diminish the meanes or forces of his enemy, having caused them to be assembled altogether, therby to assure and incourage them, he tooke a cleane contrary course, to that which in like cases we are accustomed to do: for he bad them trouble themselves no more to finde out the number of the forces, which his enemies brought against him, for himselfe had already true knowledge and certaine intelligence of them, and told them a number farre exceeding both the truth and report

**Cæsar the  
soldier's  
breviary**

Relations of them : following what *Cyrus* commandeth in  
 between *Xenophon*. Forasmuch as the deceit is not of  
 Cæsar like interest, for a man to finde his enemies in  
 effect weaker then he hoped, then stronger indeed, having once conceived an opinion of their  
 weaknesse. He enured all his Souldiers simply to obey, without controlling, gaine-saying, or speaking of their captaines desseignes, which he never communicated unto them, but upon the last point of execution : and was pleased, if by chance they had any inkling of them, so to deceive them, presently to change his opinion : And having prefixt a place to quarter in at night, he hath often beene seene to march further, and lengthen his journey, namely if the weather were foule, or if it rained. The Swizzers in the beginning of his warres in *Gaule*, having sent toward him to give them free passage through the Romane countries, and he being resolved by force to empeach them, did notwithstanding shew them very good lookes, and tooke certaine dayes respite to give them an answer, during which time he might have leasure to assemble his Armie together. These poore people knew not how wel he could husband time : For he often repeated, that *the skill to embrace occasions in the nickes, is the chiefest part of an absolute Captaine* : And truely the diligence he used in all his exploits, is incredible ; and the like was never heard of. If he were not over conscientious in that under colour of some treatie, parle or accord, to take any advantage of his enemies : he was as little scrupulous, in that *he required no*

other vertue in his Souldiers but valour; and except mutinie and disobedience, he punished not greatly other vices. After his victories, he often gave them the reines to all licenciousnesse, for a while dispencing them from all rules of military discipline; saying moreover, his Souldiers were so well instructed, that though they were in their gayest clothes, pranked up, muskt and perfumed, they would notwithstanding runne furiously to any combate. And in truth he loved to see them richly armed, and made them weare gilt, graven and silvered armours, that their care to keepe them cleane and bright, might make them more fierce, and readie to defend themselves. Speaking to them, he ever called them by the name of Fellow-souldiers; a name used at this day by some Captaines; which his successour *Augustus* afterward reformed, esteeming he had done it for the necessitie of his affaires, and to flatter the hearts of those which followed him but voluntarily;

—*Rheni mihi Cæsar in undis,  
Dux erat, hic socius, facinus quos inquinat, æquat.*  
—LUCAN. v. 289.

When *Cæsar* past the *Rheine* he was my Generall,  
My Fellow heere: sinne, whom it staines, makes  
fellowes—all;

but that this custome was over-lowelie for the dignitie of an Emperor, and chiefe Generall of an armie, and brought up the fashion againe to cal them only Souldiers. To this curtesie, *Cæsar* did notwithstanding intermixe a great severity,

Caesar's  
bridge  
over the  
Rhine

to suppress and keep them humble. His ninth Legion having mutined neere unto *Placentia*, he presently cashiered the same with great ignominie unto it, notwithstanding that *Pompey* were yet on foot and strong; and would not receive it into favour, but with humble petition and entreatie. Hee did more appease them by authoritie and audacitie, then by mildenesse and affabilitie. Where he speaketh of his passage over the River of *Rheine*, towards *Germanie*, he saith, that deeming it unworthy the honour of the Romane people, his army should passe over in shippes, he caused a bridge to be built, that so it might passe over drie-foot. There he erected that admirable bridge, whereof he so particularly describeth the frame: For he never more willingly dilates himself in describing any of his exploités, then where he endevoreth to represent unto us the subtiltie of his inventions, in such kindes of manuell workes. I have also noted this in his booke, that he much accompteth of his exhortations he made to his Souldiers before any fight, for where he would shew to have beene either surprised or urged, he ever alledgeth this, that he had not so much leasure as to make an oration to his Souldiers or armie: Before that great battell against those of *Tournay*: *Caesar* (saith he) having disposed of the rest, ranne sodainly whither fortune carried him, to exhort his men: and meeting with the tenth Legion he had not leasure to say any thing else unto them, but that *they should remember their former wonted vertue, they should nothing be*

danted, they should stoutly resist the encounter of their adversaries; and forasmuch as the enemy was come within an arrow-shot unto him, he gave the signall of the battell; and sodainely going elsewhere; to encourage others, he found them already together by the eares; See here what himself saith of it in that place. Verely his tongue hath in diverse places much bestead, and done him notable service, and even whilst he lived, his military eloquence was so highly regarded, that many of his Armie were seene to copie and keepe his orations; by which meanes diverse volumes were filled with them, and continued many ages after his death. His speech had particular graces, so that his familiar friends, and namely *Augustus*, hearing that rehearsed, which had beene collected of his, knew by the Phrases and words, what was his or not. The first time that with any publike charge he issued out of *Rome*, he came in eight dayes to the river of *Rhone*, having ever one or two Secretaries before him, who continually writ what he endited, and one behinde him that carried his sword. And surely, if one did nothing but ruane up and downe, he could very hardly attaine to that promptitude, wherewith ever being victorious, having left *Gaule*, and following *Pompey* to *Brundusium*, in eightene dayes he subdued al *Italie*; returned from *Brundusium* to *Rome*, and thence went even to the heart of *Spaine*, where he past many extreame difficulties, in the warres betweene *Affranius* and *Petruis*; and at the long siege of *Marseille*: from whence

**Cæsar's rapidity** he returned into *Macedon*, overthrew the Romane Armie at *Pbarsalia*; thence pursuing *Pompey* he passed into *Egypt*, which he subdued; from *Egypt* he came unto *Syria*, and into the countrie of *Pontus*, where hee fought with *Pharnases*; thence into *Affrica*, where he defeated *Scipio* and *Juba*, and thence through *Italie* he returned into *Spaine*, where he overthrew *Pompey's* children.

*Ocior et celi flammis et tigride fata.*—LUCAN. iv. 505.  
*Ac veluti montis saxum de vertice præcepit*  
*Cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber*  
*Proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,*  
*Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu,*  
*Exultatque solo, silvas, armenta, virosque,*  
*Involvens secum.*—VIRG. *Æn.* xii. 684.

Swifter then breed-yong Tiger, or heav'ns flash,  
 And as from mountaines top a headlong stone,  
 Rent-off by winde; or by stormes-troublous dash  
 Washt-off, or loos'd by age of yeaeres are gone,  
 Crosse-carried with great force that hill-like masse  
 Bounds on the earth, and rowles with it in one  
 Woods, heards, and men, and all that neere-it was.

Speaking of the siege of *Avaricum*, he saith, that it was his custome, both day and night, ever to be neere and about such workemen as he had set a worke. In all enterprises of consequence he was ever the first skout-man, or survayer of any place: And his armie never approched place, which he had not viewd or survayed himselfe. And if wee may believe *Suetonius*, at what time he attempted to passe over into *England*, he was the first man that sounded the passage. He was wont to say, that he esteemed that victory much more which was conducted by advise, and managed by

counsell, then by maine strength and force. In the His  
 warre against *Petrcius* and *Africanus*, Fortune caution  
 presenting an apparant occasion of advantage unto  
 him, he saith, that he refused it, hoping with a  
 little more time, but with lesse hazard, to see the  
 overthrow of his enimie. Where he also plaid  
 a notable part, to command all his Armie to  
 swimme over a river, without any necessitie,

—*rapuitque ruens in praelia miles,  
 Quod fugiens timuisset iter, mox uda receptis  
 Membra fovens armis, gelidosque à gurgite cursu  
 Rastitavit artus.*—*LUCAN.* iv. 151.

The Souldier rids that way in hast to fight,  
 Which yet he would have fearde in haste of flight;  
 His limbs with water wet and cold before,  
 With armes he covers, running doth restore.

I finde him somewhat more warie and con-  
 siderate in his enterprises, then *Alexander*; for the  
 latter seemeth to seeke out, and by maine force  
 to runne into dangers, as an impetuous or raging  
 torrent, which without heede, discretion, or  
 choise, shockes and checkmates what ere it  
 meeteth withall.

*Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,  
 Qui Regna Dauni perfluit Appuli,  
 Dum sævit, horrendamque cultis  
 Diluviem meditatur agris.*—*HOR.* *Car.* iv. *Od.* xiv. 25.

So Bull-fac'd *Aufidus* still rowling growes,  
 Which through *Apulias* ancient kingdome flowes,  
 When he doth rage in threating meditation  
 To bring on faire fields fearefull inundation.

And to say truth, his hap was to be most  
 employed in the spring-time, and first heate of



Cæsar's  
personal  
bravery

his age: whereas *Cæsar* was well stricken in yeares, when he beganne to follow armes. *Alexander* was of a more cholerike, sanguine and violent constitution, which humour hee stirred up with wine, whereof *Cæsar* was very abstinent. But where occasions of necessitie were offered, and where the subject required it, there was never man that so little regarded his person. As for me, me seemeth I reade in diverse of his exploits, a certaine resolution rather to lose himselfe, then to abide the brunt or shame to be overthrowne. In that great battel, which he fought against those of *Turnay*, seeing the vanguard of his army somewhat enclining to route, even as he was, without shield or target, he ranne headlong to the front of his enemies: Which many other times happened unto him. Hearing once how his men were besieged, he past disguised through the midst and thickest of his enemies campe, so to encourage and awe them with his presence. Having crossed the way to *Dyrrhachium*, with very few forces, and perceiving the rest of his army (the Conduct whereof hee had left unto *Antonius*,) to be somewhat slow in comming, he undertooke all alone, to repasse the Sea, notwithstanding a violent and raging Tempest; and secretly stole himselfe away to fetch the rest of his forces: All the havens on that side, yea and all the Sea being possessed by *Pompey*. And concerning the enterprises he underwent with armed hand, there are divers of them, which in respect of the hazard, exceede all discurse of military reason: for, with how

weake meanes undertooke he to subdue the King-  
dome of *Ægypt*, and afterward to front the forces  
of *Scipio* and *Juba*, which were tenne parts greater  
than his? Mee thinks such men have had a  
kinde of more than humane confidence of their  
fortune: And himselfe was wont to say, that  
*Haughty enterprises were to be executed and not  
consulted upon.* After the battell of *Pharsalia*,  
having sent his Armie before into *Asia* and him-  
selfe with onely one ship passing through the  
straight of *Hellespont*, he met on the Seas  
with *Lucius Cassius*, attended on with ten tall  
shippes of Warre; he was so farre from shun-  
ning him, that he durst not only stay for him,  
but with all haste make toward and summon  
him, to yeeld himselfe to his mercie; which he  
did. Having undertaken that furious siege of  
*Alexia*, wherein were fourescore thousand men  
of defence, and all France up in armes, with a  
resolution to runne upon him and raise the siege;  
and having an armie on foote of one hundred  
and nine thousand horse, and two hundred fortie  
thousand foote; What a fond hardy and out-  
ragious confidence was it in him, that he would  
never give over his attempt and resolve in two  
so great difficulties together? Which he not-  
withstanding underwent: And after he had ob-  
tained so notable a battell of those which were  
without, he soone reduced those that were be-  
sieged in the Towne to his mercy. The very  
like happened to *Lucullus* at the siege of *Tigrano-  
certa*, against King *Tigranes*, but with an unlike  
condition, seeing his enemies demissenesse, with

and self-  
confi-  
dence :

An army whom *Lucullus* was to deale. I will heere note may be too large two rare and extraordinary events, touching the siege of *Alexia*, the one, that the French men being all assembled together with a purpose to meet with *Cesar*, having diligently survaied and exactly numbred all their forces, resolved in their counsell, to cutte-off a great part of this huge multitude for feare they might breed a confusion. This example is new, to feare to be over many; yet if it be well taken, it is very likely, that *The bodie of an armie ought to have a well proportioned greatnesse, and ordered to indifferent bounds.* Whether it be for the difficulty to feed the same or to lead it in order and keepe it in awe. And we may easily verifie by examples, that *These numerous and infinite Armies have seldome brought any notable thing to passe:* According to *Cyrus* his saying in *Xenophon.* *It is not the multitude of men, but the number of good men that causeth an advantage:* The rest rather breeding confusion and trouble, than helpe or availe. And *Bajazeth* tooke the chiefest foundation of his resolution, against the advise of all his Captaines, to joyne fight with *Tamburlane*, onely because the innumerable number of men, which his enemy brought into the field, gave him an assured hope of route and confusion. *Scanderbeg*, a sufficient and most expert Judge in such a case, was wont to say, that tenne or twelve thousand trusty and resolute fighting men, ought to suffice any sufficient Chieftaine of warre, to warrant his reputation in any kinde of military exploite. The other point, which seemeth to

be repugnant both unto custome and reason of Warre, is, that *Vercingetoris*, who was appointed chiefe Generall of all the forces of the revolted *Gauls*, undertooke to immure and shutte himselfe into *Alexia*. For, *He that hath the commandement of a whole Countrie, ought never to engage himselfe, except in cases of extremitie, and where all his rest and last refuge goeth on it, and hath no other hope left him, but the defence of such a place.* Otherwise he ought to keepe himselfe free, that so he may have meanes to provide in all parts of his Government. But to returne to *Cesar*, he became in time somewhat more slow, heedie, and considerate, as witnesseth his familiar friend *Oppius*; deeming, he should not so easily hazard the honour of so many Victories, which one onely disaster, or mis-encounter, might make him lose. It is that the Italians are wont to say, when they will or blame or reproach any man with this overdaring, or rash fond-hardinesse, which is often seene in young men, calling them, *Bisognosi d'honore*, as much to say as needy of honour: And that being yet hungrie, greedy and voyd of reputation, they have reason to seeke after it, whatsoever it may cost them; Which they should never doe, that have already acquired the same. There may be some just moderation in this desire of glory, and some society in this appetite, as well as in others; Diverse doe so practize it. He was farre from that religion of the auncient Romans, who in their Warres would never prevaile but with meere and genuine vertue: But

Men who  
are needy  
of honour

The rather joynd more conscience unto it, than now-  
worth of . . . adaies we should doe; And would never allow  
swim- of all meanes, were he never so certaine to get  
ming the victory. In his Warres against *Ariovistus*,  
whilest he was in parly with him, some tumult  
or insurrection happened between the two armies,  
which baganne by the fault, or negligence of  
some of *Ariovistus* horsmen. In which hurlie-  
burlie *Cesar* found himselfe to have a great ad-  
vantage over his enemies, which notwithstanding  
he would not embrace, for feare he might be  
taxed or suspected to have proceeded falaly, or  
consented to any trechery. At what time so-  
ever hee went to fight, he was accustomed to  
weare a very rich garment, and of a sheene and  
garish colour, that so he might the better be  
marked. When his Souldiers were neerest unto  
their enemies he restrained and kept them very  
short. When the ancient *Græcians* would accuse  
or take any man of extreme insufficiencie, they  
used this common Proverbe; *That he could*  
*neither reade nor swimme*: And himselfe was of  
this opinion, that the arte of swimming was most  
necessary and beneficiall in War, and a Souldier  
might reape diverse commodities by it: If he  
were in haste, and to make speed, he would  
ordinarily swimme over al the Rivers he met  
withal: and loved greatly to travell on footé:  
as *Alexander* the great was wont. In *Ægypt*  
being on a time forced (to save himselfe) to  
leap into a little whirry or Bote, and so many of  
his people following him, that he was in danger  
to sink, he rather chose to fling himself into the

Sea, which he did; and swimming came into his fleete, that was more than two hundred paces from him, holding his writing-Tables in his left hand out of the water, and with his teeth drawing his Coate of Armes after him, that his enemies might not enjoy it, and this did he being well stricken in yeares. No Generall of Warre had ever so much credit with his Souldiers. In the beginning of his civill warres, his Centeniers offered him every one, at their owne charges to pay and find him a man at Armes, and his foote-men to serve him for nothing, and those that were best able, to defray the poore and needy.

Passion  
rules us  
more than  
reason.

Our late Admirall of *France* Lord *Gbastillon*, in our late civill warres shewed such an example: For, the French-men of his army, at their proper cost, and charges helped to pay such strangers as followed him. Few examples of so loving and earnest affection may bee found amongst those that follow the old manner of warre, and strictly hold themselves under the ancient pollicie of their lawes. *Passion hath more sway over us, then reason*: Yet hath it chanced in the war against *Hannibal*, that imitating the example of the Romane peoples liberalitie in the Citie, the Souldiers and Captaines refused their pay, and in *Marcellus* his campe, those were called mercenary, that tooke any pay. Having had some defeate neere unto *Dyrrachium*, his souldiers came voluntarily before him, and offered themselves to be punished; so that he was more troubled to comfort, then to chide them. One onely of his

Fidelity  
of  
Caesar's  
soldiers

*Cabotes* (whereof ten went to a Legion) held fight above foure howres with foure of *Pompeys* whole Legions, until it was well-nigh all defeated with the multitude and force of arrowes: And in his trenches were afterward found one hundred and thirtie thousand shafts. A Souldier of his, named *Scæva*, who commanded one of the entrances, did so invincibly defend and keepe himselfe, that he had one of his eyes thrust out, and one shoulder and one thigh thrust through, and his shield flawed and pierced in two hundred and thirtie severall places. It hath befallen to many of his Souldiers, being taken prisoners, to chuse rather to die then promise to follow any other faction, or receive any other entertainment. *Granius Petronius* taken by *Scipio* in *Affricke*: After *Scipio* had caused all his fellowes to bee put to death, sent him word that he gave him his life, forsomuch as he was a man of ranke and a Questor: *Petronius* answered, that *Caesars Souldiers were wont to give life to others, and not accept it themselves*: and therewithall with his owne hands killed himselfe. Infinite examples there are of their fidelitie. That part, which they acted, who were besieged in *Salona*, a Citie which tooke part with *Caesar* against *Pompey*, must not be forgotten, by reason of a rare accident that there hapned. *Marcus Octavius*, having long time beleagred the Town, they within were reduced to such extremitie and pinching necessitie of all things, that to supply the great want they had of men, most of them being alreadie or hurt or dead; they had

set all their slaves at libertie, and for the behoofe of their engines, were compelled to cut off all their womens haire, to make ropes with them; besides a wonderfull lacke of victualls, resolving notwithstanding never to yeeld themselves: After they had a long time lingered the siege, and that *Octavius* was thereby become more carelesse, and lesse heeding or attentive to his enterprise; they one day about high noone (having first ranged their wives and children upon the walles, to set the better face upon the matter) rushed out in such a furie upon the beseigers, that having put to rout and defeated the first, the second, and third *corps de garde*; then the fourth and the rest: and having forced them to quit their trenches, chased them even to their shippes: and *Octavius* with much adoe saved himselfe in *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* was. I remember not at this time, to have read of any other example, where the beleagred doe in grosse beate the beleagrers, and get the maistry and possession of the field: nor that a sallie hath drawne a meere and absolute victory of a battell into consequence.

Siege of  
Salona

#### CHAP. XXXV

##### Of three good women

THEY are not to be had by dozens, as each one knowes, namely in rights and duties of mariage; For, it is a bargaine full of so many



**A love that comes too late** thornie circumstances, that it is hard the will of a woman should long keepe her selfe whole and perfect therein. And although men have somewhat a better condition in the same, yet have they much to doe. The touchstone and perfect triall of a good mariage, respects the time that the societie continueth; whether it have constantly beene milde, loyall and commodious. In our age, they more commonly reserve to enstall their good offices, and set forth the vehemence of their affections toward their lost husbands: And then seeke they at least to yeeld some testimonie of their good wil. O late testimonie and out of season, whereby they rather shew, they never love them but when they are dead. Our life is full of combustion and scolding, but our disease full of love and of curtesie. As fathers conceale affection toward their children; so they to maintaine an honest respect, cloake their love toward their husbands. This mystery answereth not my taste. They may long enough scratch and dishevell themselves; let me enquire of a chamber-maide or of a secretarie, how they were, how they did, and how they have lived together: I can never forget this good saying, *Jactantius merent, quæ minus dolent, They keepe a howling with most ostentation, who are lesse sorrowfull at heart.* Their lowring and puling is hatefull to the living, and vaine to the dead. *Wee shall easily dispence with them to laugh at us when we are dead, upon condition they smile upon us while wee live.* Is not this the way to revive a man with spite; that he who hath spitten in

my face when I was living, shal come and claw my feet when I am dead? If there be any honour for a woman to weepe for hir husband, it belongs to hir that hath smiled upon him when she had him. Such as have wept when they lived, let them laugh when they are dead, as well outwardly as inwardly. Moreover, regard not those blubbred eyes, nor that pittie moving voice; but view that demeanor, that colour and cheerefull good plight of those cheekes, under their great vailes; thence it is she speaks plaine French. There are few whose health doth not daily grow better and better; a quality that cannot lie. This ceremonious countenance looketh not so much backward, as forward: It is rather a purchase then a payment. In mine infancie an honest and most faire Ladie (who yet liveth, the widdowe of a Prince) had somewhat more of it wot not what in her attires, then the lawes of widdowhood would well permit. To such as blamed hir for it: It is (said shee) because I intend no more new acquaintances, and have no mind at all to marry againe. Because I will not altogether dissent from our custome, I have heere made choise of three women, who have also imployed the utmost endeavor of their goodnes and affection, about their husbands deaths. Yet are they examples somewhat different and so urging that they hardly draw life into consequence. *Plinie* the yonger, had dwelling neere to a house of his in *Italie*, a neighbour wonderfully tormented with certaine ulcers, which much troubled him in his secret parts. His wife

Montaigne's  
three  
noble  
women

Self-  
sacrifice  
of the  
first

perceiving him to droope and languish away, entreated him she might leasurly search and neerely view the quality of his disease, and she would more freely then any other tell him what he was to hope for: Which having obtained, and curiously considered the same, she found it impossible ever to be cured, and all he might expect was but to lead a long, dolorous, and languishing life; and therefore for his more safetie and soveraigne remedie, perswaded him to kill himselfe. And finding him somewhat nice and backward to effect so rude an enterprise: Thinke not my deare friend (quoth shee) but that the sorrowes and griefes, I see thee feele, touch me as neere and more, if more may be, as thy selfe, and that to be rid of them, I will applie the same remedie to my selfe, which I prescribe to thee. I will accompany thee in thy cure as I have done in thy sicknesse: remove all feare, and assure thy selfe, we shall have pleasure in this passage, which shall deliver us from all torments, for we will happily goe together: That said, and having cheared up hir husbands courage, she determined they should both headlong throw themselves into the sea from out a window of their house, that overlooked the same: and to maintaine this loyall, vehement and never to be severed affection to the end, wherewith shee had during his life embraced him, she would also have him die in her armes; and fearing they might faile her, and through the fall, or feare or apprehension her hold-fast might be loosed, shee caused her-

selfe to be fast bound unto him by the middle: And thus for the ease of her husbands life she was contented to forgoe her owne. She was but of meane place and low fortune: and amidst such condition of people, it is not so strange to see some parts of rare vertue and exemplar goodnesse.

Devotion  
of the  
second

—*extrema per illos*

*Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.*

—VIRG. *Georg.* li. 473.

Justice departing from the earth did take  
Of them her leave, through them last passage make.

The other two are noble and Rich; where examples of vertue are rarely lodged. *Arria* wife unto *Cecinna Patus*, a man that had been Consul, was mother of another *Arria*, wife to *Thrasea Patus* whose vertue was so highly renowned during the time of *Nero*; and by meane of his sonne-in-law, grandmother to *Fannia*. For, the resemblance of these mens and womens names and fortunes hath made diverse to mistake them. This first *Arria*, her husband *Cecinna Patus* having beene taken prisoner by the Souldiers of *Claudius* the Emperour, after the overthrow of *Scribonianus*, whose faction he had followed, entreated those who led him prisoner to *Rome*, to take her into their ship, where for the service of her husband shee should be of lesse charge and incommoditie to them, then a number of other persons, which they must necessarily have, and that she alone might supply and stead him in his chamber, in

The  
remon-  
strances  
of her  
friends

his kitchen and all other offices; which they utterly refused, and so hoised sailes, but shee leaping into a fishers boate, that she immediately hired, followed him aloofe from the further shore of *Sclaviona*. Being come to *Rome*, one day, in the Emperours presence, *Junia* the widdow of *Scribonianus*, by reason of the neer-nesse and society of their fortunes, familiarly accosted her, but she rudely, with these words, thrust her away. What (quoth shee) shall I speake to thee, or shall I listen what thou saiest? Thou, in whose lappe *Scribonianus* thy husband was slaine, and thou yet livest? and thou breathest? These words with divers other signes, made her kinsfolkes and friends perceiue that she purposed to make herselfe away, as impatient to abide her husbands fortune. And *Thrasea* her son in law, taking hold of her speeches, beseeching her that she would not so unheedily spoile her selfe, he thus bespake her. What? If I were in *Cecinnaes* Fortune or the like, would you have my wife your daughter to do so? What else? make you a question of it? (answered she). Yes marry would I, had she liued so long and in so good-agreeing sort with thee, as I haue done with my husband. These and such like answers, encreased the care they had of her; and made them more heedfull to watch, and neerely to look unto her. One day, after she had uttered these words to her keepers; you may looke long enough to me, well may you make me die worse, but you shall never be able to keepe me from dying: and there-

with furiously flinging her selfe out of a chaire 'It doth  
(wherein she sate) with all the strength she not hurt'  
had, she fiercely ranne her head against the next  
wall; with which blow having sore hurt her  
selfe, and falling into a dead swowne, after they  
had with much adoe brought her to her selfe  
again: Did I not tell you (quoth she) that  
if you kept me from one easi death, I would  
choose another, how hard and difficult soever?  
The end of so admirable a vertue was this.  
Her husband *Pætus* wanting the courage to doe  
himselfe to death, unto which the Emperors  
cruelty reserved him; one day, having first  
employed discourses and exhortations, befitting  
the counsell she gave him to make himselfe  
away, shee tooke a Dagger that her husband  
wore, and holding it outright in her hand, for  
the period of her exhortation: Doe thus *Pætus*  
(said she) and at that instant, stabbing her selfe  
mortally to the heart, and presently pulling the  
dagger out againe she reached the same unto her  
husband, and so yeelded up the ghost, uttering  
this noble, generous and immortall speech, *Pæte*  
*non dolet*, she had not the leasure to pronounce  
other than these three wordes, in substance  
materiall and worthy her selfe, *Holde Pætus, it*  
*bath done me no hurt.*

*Castæ suo gladium cùm traderet Arria Pæto,  
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis;  
Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit.  
Sed quod tu facies, id mihi Pæte dolet.*

—MART. i. *Epig.* xiv. 1.

Chast *Arria* when she gave her *Pætus* that sharpe  
sword,

Effect of  
her death

Which from her bowells she had drawne forth  
bleeding new.  
The wound I gave and have, if you will trust my  
word,  
Griev's not, said she, but that which shall be  
made by you.

It is much more lively in his owne naturall, and of a richer Sense; for both her husbands wound and death, and her owne hurts, she was so farre from grieving to have beene the counsellor and motive of them, that shee rejoyced to have performed so haughty and courageous an act, onely for the behoofe of her deere husband, and at the last gaspe of her life, she only regarded him; and to remove all feare from him, to follow her in death, which *Petus* beholding, he immediately wounded himselfe with the same dagger, ashamed (as I suppose) to have had need of so deare an instruction, and precious a teaching. *Pompea Paulina*, an high and nobleborne yong Romane Ladie, had wedded *Seneca*, being very aged. *Nero* (his faire disciple) having sent his Satellites or officers toward him, to denounce the decree of his death to him: which in those dayes was done after this manner. When the Roman Emperors had condemned any man of quality to death, they were wont to send their officers unto him, to chuse what death he pleased, and to take it within such and such a time, which according to the temper of their choller, they prescribed unto him, sometimes shorter, and some times longer, giving him that time to dispose of his affaires, which also by reason of some short warning they divers times

tooke from him: And if the condemned partie seemed in any sort to strive against their will, they would often send men of purpose to execute him, either cutting the veins of his armes and legs, or compelling him to take and swallow poison. But men of honor stayed not that enforcement, but to that effect used their own Phisitions or Surgeons. *Seneca*, with a reposed and undanted countenance listned attentively to their charge, and presently demaunded for paper and inke to make his last wil and testament, which the Captaine refusing him, he turned towards his friends, and thus bespake them. Sith (my loving friends) I cannot bequeath you any other thing in remembrance or acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at least the richest and best portion I have, that is, the image of my maners and my life, which I beseech you to keepe in memory; which doing, you may acquire the glory and purchase the name of truly sincere and absolutely true friends. And therewithall sometimes appeasing the sharpenes of the sorow he saw them endure for his sake, with mild and gentle speeches, sometime raising his voice to chide them; Where are (said he) those memorable precepts of Philosophy? What is become of those provisions, which for so many yeares together we have laid up against the brunts and accidents of Fortune? Was *Neroes* innated cruelty unknowne unto us? What might we expect or hope for at his hands, who had murdered his mother and massacred his Brother, but that he would also do his Tutor and Governor

*Seneca's*  
dying  
speech



Courage  
of the  
third

to death that hath fostred and brought him up? Having uttered these words to al the by-standers, he turned him to his wife, as she was ready to sinke downe, and with the burthen of her grieffe to faint in heart and strength; he colled and embraced her about the necke, and heartily entreated her, for the love of him, somewhat more patiently to beare this accident; and that his houre was come, wherein he must shew no longer by discourse and disputation, but in earnest effect, declare the fruit he had reaped by his studie; and that undoubtedly he embraced death, not only without grieffe but with exceeding joy. Wherefore my deere-deere heart, do not dishonor it by thy teares, lest thou seeme to love thy selfe more than my reputation. Asswage thy sorrowes, and comfort thy selfe in the knowledge thou hast had of me and of my actions; leading the rest of thy life by the honest occupations to which thou art addicted. To whom *Paulina*, having somewhat rouzed her drooping spirits, and by a thrice-noble affection awakened the magnanimitie of her high-setled courage, answered thus: No *Seneca*, thinke not that in this necessitie I will leave you without my company.

I would not have you imagin that the vertuous examples of your life have not also taught me to die: And when shal I be able to do it or better, or more honestly, or more to mine own liking, then with your selfe? And be resolved I wil go with you and be partaker of your fortune. *Seneca* taking so generous a resolve,

and glorious a determination of his wife in good part, and to free himselfe from the feare he had to leave her after his death, to his enemies mercie and cruelty: Oh my deare *Paulina*, I had (quoth he) perswaded thee what I thought was convenient, to leade thy life more happily, and doost thou then rather choose the honour of a glorious death? Assuredly I will not envy thee: Be the constancie and resolution answerable to our common end, but be the beautie and glory greater on thy side. That said, the veines of both their armes were cut, to the end they might bleede to death; but because *Senecaes* were somewhat shrunken up through age and abstinence, and his bloud could have no speedy course, he commaunded the veines of his thighes to be launced: And fearing lest the torments he felt, might in some sort entender his wifes heart; as also to deliver himselfe from the affliction, which greatly yearned him to see her in so pittious plight: after he had most lovingly taken leave of her, he besought her to be pleased she might be caried into the next chamber, which was accordingly performed. But all those incisions being unable to make him die, he willed *Staius Anneus* his Phisition to give him some poysoned potion, which wrought but small effect in him, for through the weaknesse and coldnesse of his members, it could not come unto his heart. And therefore they caused a warme bath to be prepared, wherein they layd him, then perceiving his end to approach, so long as he had breath, he continued his excellent

The wan  
face of  
Paulina

discourses, concerning the subject of the estate wherein he found himselfe, which his Secretaries, so long as they could heare his voice, collected very diligently; whose last words continued long time after in high esteem and honor amongst the better sort of men, as Oracles; but they were afterward lost, and great pittie it is they never came unto our handes. But when he once beganne to feele the last pangs of death, taking some of the water, wherein he lay bathing, all bloody, he therewith washed his head, saying, I vow this water unto *Jupiter* the Deliverer. *Nero* being advertised of all this, fearing lest *Paulinaes* death (who was one of the best alied Ladies in *Rome*, and to whom he bare no particular grudge) might cause him some reproach, sent in all poste haste to have her incisions closed up againe, and if possibly it could be, to save her life; which hir servants [unwitting to] her, performed, she being more then halfe dead and voyd of any sence. And that afterward, contrary to her intent, she lived, it was very honourable, and as befitted her vertue, shewing by the pale hew and wanne colour of her face, how much of her life she had wasted by her incisions. Loe heere my three true stories, which in my conceit are as pleasant and as tragicall, as any we devise at our pleasures, to please the vulgar sort withall: and I wonder, that those who invent so many fabulous tales, do not rather make choise of infinite excellent, and quaint stories, that are found in bookes, wherein they should have lesse trouble to write

them, and might doubtlesse prove more pleasing to the hearer, and profitable to the Reader. And whosoever would undertake to frame a compleate and well joynted bodie of them, neede neither employe nor adde any thing of his owne unto it except the ligaments, as the soldring of another mettall, and by this meanes might compact sundry events of all kindes, disposing and diversifying them, according as the beauty and lustre of the worke should require: And very neere, as *Ovid* hath sowed and contrived his *Metamorphosis*, with that strange number of diverse fables. In the last couple this is also worthy consideration, that *Paulina* offreth willingly to leave her life for her husbands sake, and that her husband had also other times quit death for the love of her. There is no great counterpoyze in this exchange for us: but according to his Stoike humour, I suppose he perswaded himselfe to have done as much for hir, prolonging his life for hir availe, as if he had died for hir. In one of his letters, he writeth to *Lucilius*, after he hath given him to understand how an ague having surpris'd him in *Rome*, contrary to his wives opinion, who would needs have stayed him, he sodainly tooke his Coach, to goe unto a house of his into the country; and how he told her that the ague he had was no bodily fever, but of the place: and followeth thus: *At last she let me goe, earnestly recommending my health unto me. Now I who know, how her life lodgeth in mine, begin to provide for my self, that consequently I may provide*

Seneca's  
care for  
his wife

**The duty to live** for her : *The priviledge my age hath bestowed on me, making me more constant, and more resolute in many things, I lose it ; when ever I call to minde, that in this aged corps there harboureth a yong woman, to whom I bring some profit. Since I cannot induce her to love me more couragiously, shee induceth me to love my selfe more carefully ; for something must be lent to honest affections, and sometimes, although occasions urge us to the contrary, life must be revoked againe, yea with torment. The soule must be held fast with ones teeth, since the lawe to live [in] honest men, is not to live as long as they please, but so long as they ought. He who esteemeth not his wife or a friend so much, as that he will not lengthen his life for them, and wil obstinately die, that man is over-nice, and too effeminate : The soule must commaund that unto her selfe, when the utilitie of our friends requireth it : we must sometimes lend our selves unto our friends, and when we would die for us, we ought for their sakes to interrupt our desaigne. It is a testimony of high courage to returns to life for the respect of others as diverse notable men have done : and to preserve age is a part of singular integritie (the chiefest commoditie whereof, is the carelesnesse of her continuance, and a more couragious and disdainefull use of life) if a man perceive such an office to be pleasing, acceptable and profitable to any well-affected friend. And who doeth it, receiveth thereby a gratefull meede and pleasing recompence : for what can bee sweeter, than to be so deare unto his wife, that in respect of her a man become more deere unto himselfe ? So my Paulina, hath not*

onely charged me with her feare, but also with mine. It hath not beene sufficient for me to consider, how resolutely I might dye, but I have also considered how irresolutely she might endure it. I have enforced my selfe to live: And to live is sometime magnanimitie: Reade heere his owne wordes, as excellent as is his use.

Three  
excellent  
men.  
Homer

## CHAP. XXXVI

## Of the worthiest and most excellent men

IF a man should demaund of mee, which of all men that ever came to my knowledge, I would make choise of, me seemeth, I finde three, who have beene excellent above all others. The one is, *Homer*, not that *Aristotle* or *Varro*, (for example sake) were not peradventure as wise and as sufficient as he: Nor that *Virgil*, (and possibly in his owne arte) be not comparable unto him. I leave that to their judgements that know them both. I who know but one of them, according to my skill may onely say this, that I cannot be perswaded, the Muses themselves did ever go beyond the Roman.

*Tale facit carmen docta testudine, quale*

*—Cynthiaus impositis temperat articulis.*

—PROPERT. ii. *El.* xxxiv. 79.

He on his learned Lute such verse doth play,  
As *Phæbus* should thereto his fingers lay.

In which Judgement, this must notwithstand-

The  
falseness of  
Homer

ing not be forgotten, that *Virgil* doth especially derive his sufficiencie from *Homer*, and he is his guide and Schoolemaster, and that but one only glance or sentence of the *Iliads*, hath given both body and matter to that great and divine Poem of the *Æneid*. My meaning is not to account so: I entermix divers other circumstances, which yeeld this man most admirable unto me, and as it were beyond humane condition. And truly I am often amazed, that he who hath produced, and by his authority brought so many Deities in credit with the World, hath not obtained to be reputed a God himselfe. Being blind and indigent; having lived before ever the Sciences were redacted into strict rules and certaine observations, he had so perfect knowledge of them, that all those which since his time have labored to establish policies or Common-wealths, to manage warres; and to write either of Religion or Philosophy, in what Sect soever or of all Artes, have made use of him, as of an absolutely-perfect Master in the knowledge of all things; and of his Bookes, as of a Seminary, a Spring-garden or Store-house of all' kinds of sufficiency and learning.

*Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,  
Plenus ac melius Chrysippo, ac Crantore dicit.*

—*Hor. Epist. xxiii.*

What is faire, What is foule, What profit may,  
What not,  
Better than *Crantor* or *Chrysippus*, *Homer* wrot.

And as another saith :

—à quo ceu fonte perrenni  
*Vatum Pieriis labra rigantur aquis.*

—OVID. *Am.* iii. *El.* viii. 25.

**Homer  
 the first  
 and last  
 of poets**

By whom, as by an ever-flowing-filling spring,  
 With Muses liquor poets lippes are bath'de to sing.

And another :

*Addę Heliconiadum comites, quorum unus Homerus  
 Astra potitus.* —LUCR. iii. 1081.

Muses companions adde to these, of all  
 One onely *Homer* hath in heav'n his stall.

And another :

—*cujusque ex ore profuso  
 Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,  
 Annemque in tenues, ausa est deducere rivos:  
 Unius facunda bonis.* —MANIL. *Ast.* ii. 8.

From whose large mouth for verse all that since live  
 Drew water, and grew bolder to derive  
 Into thinne shallow rivers his deepe floods;  
 Richly luxuriant in one mans good.

It is against natures course, that he hath made  
 the most excellent production, that may be : for,  
 the ordinary birth of things is imperfect : They  
 are augmented by encrease, and corroborated by  
 growth. He hath reduced the infancy of poesie,  
 and divers other Sciences to be ripe, perfect and  
 compleate. By which reason he may be termed  
 the first and last of poets, following the noble  
 testimony, antiquity hath left us of him, that  
 having had no man before him, whom he might  
 imitate, so hath hee had none after him, could  
 imitate him. His wordes (according to *Aristotle*)  
 are the onely words that have motion and action :



The glory of Troy and the World's Desire they are the onely substantiall Wordes. *Alexander* the Great, having lighted upon a rich casket amongst *Darius* his spoiles, appoynted the same to be safely kept for himselfe, to keepe his *Homer* in: saying, he was the best adviser, and faithfullest counselor he had in his military affaires. By the same reason said *Cliomenes*, sonne to *Anaxandridas*, that hee was the Lacedemonians Poet; for he was an excellent good teacher or Master of Warre-like discipline. This singular praise and particular commendation hath also beene given him by *Plutarke* where he saith, that he is the only author in the world, who yet never distasted Reader, or glutted man; ever shewing himself other, and different to the Readers; and ever flourishing with a new grace. That Wagge *Alcibiades*, demanding one of *Homers* bookes of one who professed letters, because he had it not, gave him a whirrit on the eare; as if a man should finde one of our Priests, without a Breviarie. *Xenophanes* one day made his moane to *Hieron* the Tyrant of *Siracusa*, that he was so poore as he had not wherewithall to finde two servants: How commeth that to passe? (answered *Hieron*) *Homer*, who was much poorer than thou art, dead as he is, findeth more then tenne thousand. What left *Panetius* unsaide, when he named *Plato* the *Homer* of *Philosophers*? Besides what glory may be compared to his? There is nothing, liveth so in mens mouthes as his name and his workes; nothing so knowne and received as *Troy*, as *Helen* and her Warres, which peradventure never were.

Our Children are yet called by the names he invented three thousand yeeres since and more. Who knoweth not *Hector*? Who hath not heard of *Achilles*? Not onely some particular races, but most nations seeke to derive themselves from his inventions. *Machomet*, the second of that name, Emperour of Turkes, writing to Pope *Pius* the second: I wonder (saith he) how the Italians will bandie against me, seeing we have our common off-spring from the Trojans; and I as well as they have an interest to revenge the blood of *Hector* upon the Græcians, whom they favour against me. Is it not a worthie Comedie, whereof Kings, Commonwealths, Principalities, and Emperours, have for many ages together played their parts, and to which this great Universe serveth as a Theatre? seven cities of *Greece* strived amongst themselves about the places of his birth. So much honour his very obscuritie procured him.

Who knoweth not Hector and Achilles?

*Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ.*  
—A. GEL. Noct. Att. iii. c. 11.

Rhodes, Salamis, Colophon, Chios, Argos, Smyrna, with *Athens*.

The other is *Alexander* the great. For, who shall consider his age, wherein hee beganne his enterprises; the small meanes he had to ground so glorious a desseigne upon, the authoritie he attained unto in his infancy, amongst the greatest Commaunders, and most experienced Captaines in the world, by whom he was followed; the extraordinary favour, wherwith fortune embraced

Montaigne's second example. Alexander, him, and seconded so many of his haughty-dangerous exploits, which I may in a manner call rash or fond-hardie.

Alexander,

*Impellens quicquid sibi summa potenti  
Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruinae.*

—LUCAN. i. 148.

While he shot at the high'st, all that might stay  
He for'st, and joyde with ruine to make way.

That eminent greatnesse, to have at the age of thirtie yeares passed victorious through al the habitable earth, and but with halfe the life of a man to have attained the utmost endeavour of humane nature; so that you cannot imagine his continuance lawfull, and the lasting of his increase in fortune, and progres in vertue even unto a just terme of age, but you must suppose something above man, to have caused so many Royal branches to issue from out the loines of his Souldiers, leaving the world after his death to be shared between foure successours, onely Captaines of his Armie, whose succeeders, have so long time since continued, and descendents maintained that large possession. So infinite, rare and excellent vertues that were in him, as justice, temperance, liberalitie, integritie in words, love toward his, and humanitie toward the conquered. For in truth, his maners seeme to admit no just cause of reproach: indeed some of his particular, rare and extraordinary actions, may in some sort be taxed. For it is impossible to conduct so great, and direct so violent motions with the

strict rules of justice. Such men ought to be judged in grose, by the mistris end of their actions. The ruine of *Thebes*; the murther of *Menander*, and of *Ephestions* physition; the massacre of so many Persian prisoners at once: of a troupe of Indian Souldiers, not without some prejudice unto his word and promise: and of the *Cosseyans* and their little children, are escapes somewhat hard to be excused. For, concerning *Clitus*, the fault was expiated beyond it's merit; and that action, as much as any other, witnesseth the integritie and cheerefulness of his complexion, and that it was a complexion in it selfe excellently formed to goodnesse; And it was wittily said of one, that *he had vertues by nature, and vices by accident*. Concerning the point, that he was somewhat to lavish a boaster, and over impatient to heare himselfe ill spoken of; and touching those mangers, armes, and bits, which he caused to be scattered in *India*, respecting his age and the prosperitie of his fortune they are in my conceit pardonable in him. He that shall also consider his many military vertues, as diligence, foresight, patience; discipline, policie, magnanimitie, resolution and good fortune; wherin though *Haniballs* authority had not taught it us, he *hath bene the first and chiefe of men*: the rare beauties, matchlesse features, and incomparable conditions of his person, beyond all comparison, and wonder breeding; his carriage; demeanor, and venerable behaviour, in a face so young, so vermeill, and heart enflaming:

who was  
'the first  
and chiefe  
of men'

Alex-  
ander's  
lasting  
fame

*Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,  
Quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes.  
Extulit os sacrum celo, tenebrasque resolvit.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* viii. 589.

As when the day starre washt in Ocean streames,  
Which *Venus* most of all the starres esteemes,  
Shewes sacred light, shakes darkenesse-off with  
beames.

The excellencie of his wit, knowledge and capacity; the continuance and greatnesse of his glory, unspotted, untainted, pure and free from all blame or envie: insomuch as long after his death, it was religiously beleved of many, that the medalls or brooches representing his person brought good lucke unto such as wore or had them about them. And that more Kings and Princes have written his gestic and actions, then any other historians, of what quality soever, have registred the gestic, or collected the actions of any other King or Prince that ever was: And that even at this day, the Mahometists, who contemne all other histories, by speciall priviledge, allow, receive, and onely honour his. All which premises duely considered together, hee shall confesse, I have had good reason to preferre him before *Cesar* himselfe who alone might have made me doubt of my choise. And it must needes bee granted, that in his exploits there was more of his owne; but more of fortunes in *Alexanders* atchievements. They have both had many things mutually alike, and *Cesar* happily some greater. They were two quicke and devouring

fires, or two swift and surrounding streames able to ravage the world by sundry wayes. The third example. Epaminondas.

*Et velut immissi diversis partibus ignes  
Arentem in silvam, et virgulta sonantia lauro :  
Aut ubi decursu rapido demontibus altis  
Dant sonitum spumosi amnes, et in æquora currunt,  
Quisque suum populatus iter.—xii. 521.*

As when on divers sides fire is applied  
To crackling bay-shrubs, or to woods Sunne dried,  
Or as when foaming streames from mountaines hie,  
With downe-fall swift resound, and to sea flie;  
Each-one doth havecke-out his way thereby.

But grant *Cæsars* ambition were more moderate, it is so unhappy, in that it met with this vile subject of the subversion of his countrie, and universall empairing of the world; that all parts impartially collected and put together in the balance, I must necessarily bend to *Alexanders* side. The third, and in my judgement, most excellent man, is *Epaminondas*. Of glorie he hath not so much as some, and is farre shorte of diverse (which well considered is no substantiall part of the thing) in resolution and true valour, not of that which is set on by ambition; but of that, which wisdom and reason may settle in a well disposed minde, hee had as much as may be imagined or wished for. He hath in mine opinion, made as great triall of his vertues, as ever did *Alexander* or *Cesar*: for although his exploits of warre be not so frequent, and so high raised, yet being throughly considered, they are as weightie, as resolute, as constant, yea and as authenticall a testimony of

To be  
first of the  
Greeks  
was to be  
first of  
the world

hardnes and military sufficiencie, as any mans else. The Græcians, without any contradiction afforded him the honour, to entitle him the chiefe and first man among themselves: and to be the first and chiefe man of Greece, is without all question to bee chiefe and first man of the world. Touching his knowledge and worth, this ancient judgement doth yet remaine amongst us, that never was man who knew so much, nor never man that spake lesse then he. For he was by Sect a Pythagorian; and what he spake, no man ever spake better: An excellent and most perswasive Orator was hee. And concerning his maners and conscience therein he farre outwent all that ever medled with managing affaires: For in this one part, which ought especially to be noted, and which alone declareth what we are, and which only I counterpoise to all others together, he giveth place to no Philosopher; no not to *Socrates* himselfe. In whom innocencie is a quality, proper, chiefe, constant, uniforme and incorruptible. In comparison of which, it seemeth in *Alexander* subalternall, uncertaine, variable, effeminate and accidentall. Antiquitie judged that precisely to sift out, and curiously to prie into all other famous Captaines, there is in every one severally some speciall quality, which makes him renowned and famous; In this man alone, it is a vertue and sufficiencie, every where compleate and alike; which in all offices of humane life, leaveth nothing more to be wished-for. Be it in publike or private; in peaceable negotiations or warlike occupations;

be it to live or die, greatly or gloriously, I know no forme or fortune of man, that I admire or regard, with so much honour, with so much love. True it is, I finde this obstinacie in povertie, somewhat scrupulous; and so have his best friends pourtrayed it. And this onely action (high notwithstanding and very worthy admiration) I finde or deeme somewhat sharpe; so as I would nor wish, nor desire the imitation thereof in me, according to the forme it was in him. *Scipio Æmilianus* alone (would any charge him with as fierce, and nobly-minded an end, and with as deepe and universall knowledge of Sciences) might be placed in the other scale of the ballance against him. Oh what a displeasure hath swift-gliding Time done me, even in the nick, to deprive our eyes of the chiefest paire of lives, directly the noblest that ever were in *Plutarke*, of these two truly worthy personages: by the universall consent of the world, the one chiefe of Græcians, the other principall of Romanes. What a matter, what a workeman! For a man that was no Saint, but as we say, a gallant-honest man, of civil maners and common customes; of a temperate haughtinesse; the richest life I know (as the vulgar saying is) to have lived amongst the living, and fraughted with the richest qualities, and most to be desired parts (all things impartially considered) in my humour, is that of *Alcibiades*. But touching *Epaminondas*, for a patterne of excessive goodnes, I wil here insert certaine of his opinions. The sweetest contentment he had in all his life,

**Scipio  
Æmili-  
anus**



Some  
opinions  
of Epa-  
minondas

he witnesseth to have beene, the pleasure he gave his father and mother, of his victory upon *Leuctra*: he staketh much in preferring their pleasure, before his content, so just and full of so glorious an action. *Hee thought it unlawfull, yea were it to recover the libertie of his countrey, for any one to kill a man, except he know a just cause.* And therefore was he so backward in the enterprise of *Pelopidas* his companion, for the deliverance of *Thebes*. He was also of opinion, that in a battell a man should avoid to encounter his friend, being on the contrary part; and if he met him, to spare him. And his humanitie or gentlenes, even towards his very enemies, having made him to be suspected of the *Bœotians*, forsomuch as after he had miraculously forced the *Lacedemonians* to open him a passage, which at the entrance of *Moria* neere *Corinth*, they had undertaken to make good, he was contented, without further pursuing them in furie, to have marched over their bellies; was the cause he was deposed of his office of Capitaine Generall. Most honourable for such a cause; and for the shame it was to them, soone after to be forced by necessitie to advance him to his first place: and to acknowledge how their glorie, and confesse that their safetie did onely depend on him: victory following him as his shadow, whither soever he went: and as the prosperity of his countrey was borne by and with him, so it died with and by him.

## CHAP. XXXVII

Of the resemblance betweene children  
and fathers

**T**HIS hadling up of so much trash, or packing of so many severall pieces, is done so strangely, as I never lay hands on it, but when an over lazie idlenesse urgeth me: and no where, but in mine owne house. So have it beene compact at sundry pauses, and contrived at severall intervalls, as occasions have sometime for many months together, here and there in other places, detained me. Besides, I never correct my first imaginations by the second, it may happen, I now and then alter some word, rather to diversifie, then take any thing away. My purpose is, to represent the progresse of my humours, that every part be seene or member distinguished, as it was produced. I would to God I had begunne sooner, and knew the tracke of my changes, and course of my variations. A boy whom I employed to write for me, supposed he had gotten a rich bootie, when he stole some parts, which he best liked. But one thing comforts me that he shall gaine no more, then I lost by them. I am growne elder by seaven or eight yeares since I beganne them; nor hath it beene without some new purchase. I have by the liberality of yeares acquainted my selfe with the stone-chollike. Their commerce and long conversation, is not easily past-over without some

Mon-  
taine's  
essays in-  
terrupted  
in their  
writing

Montaigne reconciled to his disease

such-like fruit. I would be glad, that of many other presents, they have ever in store, to bestow upon such as waite upon them long, they had made choise of some one, that had beene more acceptable unto me: for they could never possesse me with any, that, even from my infancy, I hated more. Of all accidents incident to age, it was that I feared most. My selfe have many times thought, I went on too farre, and that to hold out so long a journey, I must of necessitie, in the end, stumble upon some such displeasing chance. I perceived plainly, and protested sufficiently, it was high time to depart, and that according to the rule of skillfull chirurgions, who when they must cut off some member, life must be seared to the quicke, and cut to the sound flesh. *That nature is wont to make him pay intolerable usurie, who doth not yeeld or pay the same in due time.* I was so farre from being readie to make lawfull tender of it, that in eighteene months, or thereabouts, I have continued in so yrkesome and displeasing plight, I have already learn'd to apply my selfe unto it; and am now entring into covenant with this chollicall kinde of life; for therein I finde matter, wherewith to comfort me, and to hope better. *So much are men enured in their miserable estate, that no condition is so poore, but they will accept; so they may continue in the same.* Heare *Mæcenas*.

*Debilem facito manu,*

*Debilem pede, coxa,*

*Lubricos quate dentes,*

*Vita dum superest, bene est.*—SEN. *Epist.* 101 f.

Make me be weake of hand,  
 Scarce on my legges to stand,  
 Shake my loose teeth with paine,  
 'Tis well so life remaine.

A dis-  
 eased life  
 thought  
 to be  
 better  
 than  
 death

And *Tamburlane* cloyed the fantastick cruelty, he exercised upon Lazars or Leprousmen, with a foolish kinde of humanitie, putting all he could finde or heare-of, to death, (as he said,) to ridde them from so painefull and miserable a life, as they lived. For, there was none so wretched amongst them, that would not rather have beene three times a Leper, than not to be at all. And *Antisthenes* the Stoick, being very sicke, and crying out: *Oh who shall deliver me from my tormenting evils?* *Diogenes*, who was come to visite him, foorthwith presenting him a knife; *Mary*, this, said he, and that very speedily, if thou please: I meane not of my life, replied hee, but of my sicknesse. The sufferances which simply touch us in minde, doe much lesse afflict me, then most men: Partly by judgement; For the World deemeth diverse things horrible, or avoydable with the losse of life, which to me are in a maner indifferent: Partly, by a stupid and insensible complexion, I have in accidents, that hit me not point-blanke: Which complexion I esteeme one of the better partes of my naturall condition. But the truly-essentiall and corporall sufferances, those I taste very sensibly: Yet is it, having other times fore-apprehended them with a delicate and weake sight, and by the enjoying of this long health and happy rest, which God hath lent me, the better part of my

Pain  
during  
life lessens  
the  
fear of  
death

age, somewhat empaired: I had by imagination conceived them so intolerable, that in good truth, I was more afraid, than since I have found hurt in them: Whereupon, I dayly augment this opinion: That most of our soules faculties (as we employ them) doe more trouble than stead the quiet repose of life. I am continually grappling with the worst of all diseases, the most grievous, the most mortall, the most remedillesse and the most violent. I have already had triall of five or six long and painefull fittes of it. Neverthelisse, eyther I flatter my selfe, or in this plight there is yet something, that would faine keep life and soule together, namely in him, whose minde is free from feare of death, and from the threats, conclusions and consequences, which physicke is ever buzzing into our heads. But the effect of paine it selfe, hath not so sharpe a smarting, or so pricking a sharpnesse, that a settled man should enter into rage or fall into dispaire. This commoditie at least I have by the chollicke, that what I could never bring to passe in my selfe, which was, altogether to reconcile; and throughly to acquaint my selfe with death, shee shall atchieve, she shall accomplish: for by how much more shee shall importune and urge me, by so much lesse shall death bee fearefull unto mee. I had already gotten, not to be behold- ing to life, but onely in regard of life, and for lives sake: She shall also undo this intelligence, and loose this combination: And God graunt, if in the end her sharpnesse shall happen to

surmount my strength, shee cast me not into the other extremitie, no lesse vicious, no lesse bad, that is, to love and desire, to die.

The spirit  
may be  
strong  
though  
the flesh  
be weak

*Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.*

—MART. X. *Epig.* xlvii. ult.

Nor feare thy latest doome,  
Nor wish it ere it come.

They are two passions to be feared, but one hath her remedy neerer than the other. Otherwise, I have ever found that precept ceremonious, which so precizely appoints a man to set a good countenance, a setled resolution, and disdainfull carriage, upon the sufferance of evils. Why doth Philosophy, which onely respecteth livenessse and regardeth effects, ammuze it selfe about these externall apparances? Let her leave this care to Mimikes, to Histrions, and to Rhetoricke Masters, who make so great accompt of our gestures. Let her hardly remit this vocall lithernesse unto evill, if it be neither cordiall, nor stomacall. And let her lend her voluntary plaints to the kinde of sighes, sobs, palpatations, and palenesse, which nature hath exempted from our puissance. Alwayes provided, the courage be without feare, and words sans dispaire; let her be so contented. *What matter is it if wee bend our armes, so we writhe not our thoughts?* She frameth us for our selves, not for others: to be, not to seeme. Let her applie her selfe to governe our understanding, which she hath undertaken to instruct. Let her in the panga or fits of the chollike, still maintaine the soule cap-

The ease  
of crying  
out under  
pain

able to acknowledge her selfe and follow her accustomed course, resisting sorrow and enduring grieffe, and not shamefully to prostrate her selfe at his feete: Mooved and chafed with the combate, not basely suppressed nor faintly overthrowne: Capable of entertainment and other occupations, unto a certaine limit. In so extreme accidents, it is cruelty, to require so composed a warde at our hands. *If we have a good game, it skills not, though we have an ill countenance.* If the body be any whit eased by complaining, let him doe it: If stirring or agitation please him, let him turne, rowle and tosse himselfe as long as he list: If with raising his voyce, or sending it forth with more violence, he think his grieffe any thing alayed or vented (as some Physitians affirme it somewhat easeth women great with childe, and is a meane of easie or speedy delivery) feare he not to do it; or if he may but entertaine his torment, let him mainly cry out. Let us not commaund our voyce to depart; but if she will, let us not hinder it. *Epicurus* doth not only pardon his wise-man to crie out, when he is grieved or vexed, but perswadeth him to it. *Pugiles etiam quum feriant, in jactandis castibus ingemiscunt, quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur, venitque plaga vehementior* (Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii.). *Men when they fight with sand-bags or such heavy Weapons, in fetching their blow and driving it, will give a groane witball, because by stretching their voyce all their body is also strayed, and the stroke cometh with more vehemence.* We are vexed and

troubled enough with the evill, without troubling and vexing our selves with these superfluous rules. This I say to excuse those, which are ordinarily seene to rage in the fits, and storme in the assaults of this sicknesse: for, as for me, I have hitherto past it over with somewhat a better countenance, and am content to groane without braying and exclaiming. And yet I trouble not my selfe, to maintaine this exterior decencie; for, I make small reckoning of such an advantage; In that I lend my sicknesse what it requireth: But either my paine is not so excessive, or I beare it with more constancy than the vulgar sorte. Indeede I must confesse, when the sharpe fits or throwes assaile me, I complaine, and vexe my selfe, but yet I never fall into despaire, as that fellow :

Montaigne's  
behaviour  
under  
pain

*Ejulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus  
Resonando multum flebiles voces refert.*

—Cic. *ibid.*

With howling, growning and complant of fates,  
Most lamentable cries he imitates.

I feele my selfe in the greatest heate of my sicknesse; and I ever found my selfe capable and in tune, to speake, to thinke and to answer, as soundly as at any other time, but not so constantly, because my paine doth much trouble and distract me. When I am thought to bee at the lowest, and that such as are about me spare me, I often make a triall of my forces, and propose them such discoursés as are farthest from my state. There is nothing impossible for mee, and



Montaigne's disease  
 me thinkes I can doe all things upon a sodaine fitte, so it continue not long. Oh why have not I the gift of that dreamer, mentioned by *Cicero*, who dreaming that hee was closely embracing a yong wench; found himselfe ridde of the stone in his sheetes! Mine doe strangely dis-wench me. In the intermission or respites of this outrageous paine, when as my Ureters (through which the Urine passeth from the reines to the bladder) languish without gnawing me, I sodainely returne into my ordinary forme: forsomuch as my mind taketh no other allarume, but the sensible and corporall. All which I certainly owe unto the care I have had to prepare my selfe by reason and discourse of such accidents:

—*laborum*

*Nulla mihi nova nunc facies inopinaque surgit,  
 Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* vi. 103.

No new or unexpected forme is cast,  
 Of travels in my brest: all I forecast,  
 In my minde with my selfe I all forepast.

I am handled somewhat roughly for a Prentise, and with a violent and rude change; being at one instant false from a very pleasing, calme, and most happy condition of life, unto the most dolorous, yrkesome and painefull, that can possibly be imagined: For, besides that in it selfe it is a disease greatly to be feared, its beginnings or approaches are in mee sharper or more difficult, than it is wont to trouble others withall. The pangs and fittes thereof doe so often assaile mee, that in a manner I have no more feeling of per-

fect health. Notwithstanding I hitherto keepe my spirit so seated, as if I can but joyne constancy unto it, I finde my selfe to be in a much better state of life, than a thousand others, who have neither ague nor other infirmitie, but such as for want of discourse they give themselves. There is a certaine fashion of subtile humilitie, which proceedeth of presumption: As this: That in many things we acknowledge our ignorance, and are so curteous to avowe, that in Natures workes, there are some qualities and conditions, which to us are imperceptible, and whereof our sufficiencie cannot discover the meanes, nor finde out the causes. By this honest and conscientious declaration, we hope to gaine, that we shall also be beleaved in those, we shall say to understand. Wee neede not goe to cull out miracles, and chuse strange difficulties: me seemeth, that amongst those things we ordinarily see, there are such incomprehensible rarities, as they exceed all difficulty of miracles. What monster is it, that this teare or drop of seed, wherof we are ingendred brings with it; and in it the impressions, not only of the corporall forme, but even of the very thoughts and inclinations of our fathers? Where doth this droppe of water containe or lodge this infinite number of formes? And how beare they these resemblances, of so rash, and unruly a progresse, that the childes childe shall be answerable to his grandfather, and the nephew to his uncle? In the family of *Lepidus* the Roman, there have bene three, not successively, but some between,

The mystery of heredity

Montaigne's  
disease  
inherited

that were borne with one same eye covered with a cartilage or gristle. There was a race in *Thebes*, which from their mothers wombe, bare the forme of a burr, or yron of a lance; and such as had it not, were judged as mis-begotten and deemed unlawfull. *Aristotle* reporteth of a certaine Nation, with whom all women were common, where children were allotted their fathers, only by their resemblances. It may be supposed, that I am indebted to my father for this stonie quality; for he died exceedingly tormented with a great stone in his bladder. He never felt himself troubled with the disease, but at the age of sixtie seaven yeares, before which time he had never felt any likelihood, or motion of it, nor in his reins, nor in his sides, nor elsewhere: and untill then had lived in very prosperous health, and little subject to infirmities, and continued seven yeares and more with that disease, training a very dolorous lives-end. I was borne five and twenty yeares before his sicknes, and during the course of his healthy state his third child. Where was al this while the propension or inclination to this defect, hatched? And when he was so farre from such a disease, that light part of his substance wherewith he composed me, how could it for her part, beare so great an impression of it? And how so closely covered, that fortie five yeares after, I have beguane to have a feeling of it? And hitherto alone, among so many brethren and sisters, and all of one mother. He that shall resolve me of this progresse, I will believe him as many other miracles as he shall

please to tell mee; alwayes provided (as commonly they doe) hee goe not about to pay me, with a doctrine much more difficult and fantastical, then is the thing it selfe (let Physitions somewhat excuse my libertie :) for by the same infusion and fatall insinuation, I have received the hate and contempt of their doctrine. The Antipathie, which is betweene me and their arte, is to me hereditarie. My father lived three score and fourteene yeares: My grandfather three score and nine; my great grandfather very neere fourescore, and never tasted or tooke any kinde of Physicke. And whatsoever was not in ordinary use amongst them, was deemed a drug. *Physicke is grounded upon experience and examples.* So is mine opinion. Is not this a manifest kinde of experience and very advantageous? I know not whether in all their registers, they are able to finde me three more, borne, bred, brought up, and deceased, under one rooffe, in one same chimnie, that by their owne direction and regiment have lived so long. Wherein they must needes grant me, that if it be not reason, at least it is Fortune that is on my side. Whereas among Physitions fortune is of more consequence, then reason. Low-brought, and weake as I am now, let them not take me at an advantage, nor let them not threaten me: for that were insulting arrogance. And to say truth, I have by my familiar examples gained enough upon them although they would take hold and stay there. Humane things have not so much constancie: It is now two hundred yeares;

Longevity of  
Montaigne's  
ancestors

Montaigne and his ancestors opposed to physic

wanting but eighteene, that this Essay continueth with us : For, the first was borne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and two. Some reason there is why this experience should now beginne to faile us. Let them not upbraide me with those infirmities, which now have seized upon me : Is it not sufficient to have lived seaven and fortie yeares in good and perfect health for my part ? Suppose it be the end of my carriere, yet it is of the longest. Mine ancestors by some secret instinct and naturall inclination have ever loathed al maner of Physicke : for the very sight of drugs bred a kinde of horror in my father. The Lord of *Gaviac* mine unckle by the fathers side, a man of the church, sickish even from his birth, and who notwithstanding made his weake life to hold untill sixtie seaven yeares, falling once into a dangerous and vehement continuall feaver, it was by the physitions concluded, that unlesse he would aide himselfe (for they often terme that aide, which indeede is impeachment) he was but a dead man. The good soule, afrighted as he was, at that horrible sentence, answered thus, why then I am a dead man : But shortly after God made their prognostications to proove vaine. The Lord of *Bussaguet* last of the brethren (for they were foure) and by much the last, he alone submitted himselfe to that arte, as I imagine by reason of the frequence he had in other Sciences ; for he was a Counsellor in the Court of Parliament, which prospered so ill with him, that though he were in shew of a very strong complexion, he

died long before the others, except one, the Lord of Saint *Michaell*. It may well be, I have received of them that natural dyspathie unto physicke. Yet if there had been no other consideration but this, I would have endeavoured to force it. For, all these conditions, which without reason are borne in us, are vicious. It is a kinde of maladie a man must fight withall. It may be I had such a propension; but I have settled and strengthened the same by discourses, which in me have confirmed the opinion I have of it. For, I have also the consideration to refuse Phisicke by reason of the sharpnesse of its taste. It would not easily agree with my humour, who thinke *health worthy to be purchased, with the price of all cauteries and incisions, how painefull soever.* And following *Epicurus*, mee seemeth that *all maner of voluptuousnesse should be avoided, if greater griefes follow them:* And griefes to be sought after, that have greater voluptuousnesse ensuing them. Health is a very precious jewell, and the onely thing, that in pursuite of it deserveth, a man should not onely employ, time, labour, sweate and goods, but also life to get it; forasmuch as without it, life becommeth injurious unto us. Voluptuousnes, Science and vertue, without it, tarnish and vanish away. And to the most constant and exact discourses, that philosophy will imprint in our minds to the contrary, wee need not oppose any thing against it but the image of *Plato*, being visited with the falling sicknesse, or an Apoplexie; and in this presupposition chalenge him

‘Health  
is a very  
precious  
jewell’

Montaigne trusts nature rather than physic, to call the richest faculties of his minde to helpe him.

All meanes that may bring us unto health, cannot be esteemed of [mee] either sharpe or deare. But I have some other apparances, which strangely make me to distrust al this ware. I doe not say but there may be some arte of it : It is certaine, that amongst so many of Natures workes, there are some things proper for the preservation of our health. I know there are some simples, which in operation are moistaing and some drying. My selfe have found by experience, that radish rootes are windie, and senie-leaves broede loosenes in the belly. I have the knowledge of divers such experiments, as I know that Mutton nourisheth, that Wine warmeth me. And Salon was wont to say, *that eating was as all other Drugges are, a medicine against the disease of hunger.* I disallow not the use we draw from the world, nor doubt I of natures power and fruitfulnessse, and of her application to our neede. I see, that the Pickrell-fish, and the Swallowes live well by her lawes. I greatly distrust the inventions of our wit, of our arte and of our Science : in favour of which we have forsaken Nature, and abandoned her rules ; wherein we can neither observe limitation, nor keepe moderation. As we terme Justice, the composition of the first lawes that came unto our hands, and their practise and dispensation very often most wicked and inconvenient. And as those which mocke and condemne it, intend nevertheless to wrong this noble vertue ; but onely to condemne the abuse and profanation of

so sacred a title : So likewise in physicke, I know her glorious name, her proposition, and her promise, so profitable to mankind : but what it de-seigneth amongst us, I neither honour nor respect. First, experience makes me feare it, for of all I know, *I see no kinde of men so soone sicke, nor so late cured, as those who are under the jurisdiction of Physicke.* Their very health is distempered and corrupted by the constraint of their prescriptions. Physitions are not contented to have the government over sicknesses, but they make Health to be sicke, lest a man should at any time escape their authority. . Of a constant and perfect health, doe they not frame an argument of some future dangerous sicknesse? I have often bene sicke, and without any their helpe, I have found my sicknesses (though I never medled with the bitternes of their prescriptions) as easie to be tollerated and as short, as any mans else, and yet I have felt diverse. My health is free and sound, without any rules or discipline, except of my owne custome and pleasure. I finde no difference in places, al are alike to me to dwell in : for being sicke, I neede no other commodities, then those I must have when I am in health. I am nothing passionated, though I be without Physition, without Apothecary, or without physical helpe ; whereat I see some as much troubled in minde, as they are with their disease. What? *doth the best Physition of them all make us perceive any happinesse or continuance in his life, as may witness some manifest effect of his skill and learning?* There is no Nation, but hath

which he  
neither  
honours  
nor  
respects



The early ages continued many ages without physicke: yea the first ages, which is as much to say, the best and most happy: and the tenth part of the world know not physick hath as yet no use of it. Infinite nations know it not; where they live both more healthie and much longer then we doe: yea and amongst us, the common sort live happily without it. The Romanes had benee sixe hundred yeares before ever they received it: by meanes or interposition of *Cato* the Censor, they banisht it their Citie, who declared how easily man might live without it, having lived himselfe foure score and five yeeres, and his wife untill she was extreameley old, not without phisicke, but indeed without any Physition: For, *whatsoever is by experience found healthy for our body and health, may be termed phisicke.* He entertained (as *Plutarke* saith) his familie in health, by the use (as farre as I remember) of Hares milke: As the Arcadians (saith *Plinie*) cure all maladies with Cowes milke. And the Lybians (saith *Herodotus*) doe generally enjoy a perfect health, by observing this custome, which is, so soone as their children are about foure yeeres old, to cautherize and beare the veines of their head and temples, whereby they cut off the way to all rumes and defluxions. And the countrie-people where I dwell, use nothing against all diseases, but some of the strongest wine they can get, with store of saffron and spice in it; and all with one like fortune. And to say true, of all this diversitie of rules and confusion of prescriptions, what other end or effect workes it, but to

evacuate the belly? which a thousand home-simples will doe as well. And I know not whether it be as profitable (as they say) and whether our nature require the [residence] of her excrements, untill a certaine measure, as wine doth his lees for his preservation. You see often men very healthy by some strange accidents, to fall into violent vomites, and fluxies, and voyd great store of excrements, without any precedent need, or succeeding benefite: yea with some empairing and prejudice. I learn't of *Plato* not long since, that of three motions, which belong to us, the last and worst, is that of purgations, and that no man, except he be a foole, ought to undertake it; unlesse it be in great extremity. The evill is troubled and stirred up by contrary oppositions. It is the forme of life, that gently must diminish, consume, and bring it to an end. Since the violent twinges of the drug and maladie are ever to our losse; since the quarrell is cleared in us, and the drug a trustlesse helpe; by it's own nature an enemy to our health, and but by trouble hath no access in our state; Let's give them leave to go on. *That order which provideth for Fleas and Moles, doth also provide for men, who have the same patience to suffer themselves to be governed, that Fleas and Moles have.* We may fairely cry bo-bo-boe; it may well make us hoarse, but it will nothing advaunce it. It is a proud and impetuous order. Our feare and our dispaire, in lieu of enviting the same unto it, doth distaste and delay it out of our helpe: he oweth his course to evill as well as to sicknesse.

Purgations

Ancient  
opinions  
concern-  
ing doc-  
tors

To suffer himselfe to be corrupted in favour of one, to the prejudice of the others rights, he will not doe it, so should they fall into disorder. Let us goe on in the name of God; let us follow; He leadeth on such as follow him: those that follow him not, he haleth on, both with their rage and physicke together. Cause a purgation to be prepared for your braine; it will bee better employed unto it, then to your stomacke. A Lacedemonian being asked, what had made him live so long in health, answered, *The ignorance of physicke.* And *Adrian* the Emperour, as he was dying, ceased not to crie out, that *the number of Physitions had killed him.* A bad wrestler became a Physition. *Courage*, said *Diogenes* to him, *thou hast reason to doe so, for now shalt thou helpe to put them into the ground, who have heere-tofore ayded to lay thee on it.* But according to *Nicocles*, they have this happe, *That the Sunne doth manifest their successe, and the earth doth cover their fault.* And besides, they have a very advantageous fashion among themselves, to make use of all manner of events; for, whatsoever either Fortune or Nature, or any other strange cause (wherof the number is infinite) produceth in us, or good or healthfull, it is the priviledge of Physicke to ascribe it unto herselfe. All the fortunate successes that come to the patient, which is under their government, it is from nature he hath them. The occasions that have cured me, and which heale a thousand others, who never send or call for Physitions to helpe them, they usurpe them in their subjects. And

touching ill accidents, either they utterly disavow them, in imputing the blame of them to the patient, by some vaine reasons, whereof they never misse to finde a great number; as he lay with his armes out of the bed, he hath heard the noyse of a coach :

All ill  
redound  
to the  
profit of  
doctors

—*rhedarum transitus arcto*  
*Vicorum inflexu.*—*Juv. Sat. iii. 236.*  
Coaches could hardly passe,  
The lane so crooked was.

His Window was left open all night: Hee hath laine upon the left side, or troubled his head with some heavie thought. In some, a word, a dreame, or a looke, is of them deemed a sufficient excuse, to free themselves from all imputation: Or if they please, they will also make use of this emparing, and thereby make up their businesse; and as a meane which can never faile them, when by their applications the disease is growne desperate, to pay us with the assurance, that if their remedies had not beene, it would have beene much worse. He, whom but from a cold they have brought to a quotidian Ague, without them should have had a continuall fever. *They must needs thrive in their businesse, since all ill redound to their profit.* Truly they have reason to require of the pacient an application of favourable confidence in them: which must necessarily be in good earnest, and yeelding to apply it self unto imaginations, over-hardly to be believed. *Plato* said very well and to the purpose, that *freely to lie belonged onely to Physicians*, since our health dependeth on their vanitie

**Æsop's Fable** and falsehood of promises. *Æsop* an author of exceeding rare excellence, and whose graces few discover, is very pleasant in representing this kinde of tyrannicall authority unto us, which they usurpe upon poore soules, weakned by sickenes, and overwhelmed through feare: for he reporteth, how a sicke man being demaunded by his Physition, what operation he felt by the Physicke he had given him. I have sweate much, answered he; that is good, replied the Physition. Another time he asked him againe how he had done since: I have had a great cold and quivered much, said he: That is very well, quoth the Physition againe. The third time he demaunded of him, how he felt himselfe: he answered, I swell and puffe up as it were with the dropsie: That's not amisse, said the physitian. A familiar friend of his, comming afterward to visite him, and to know how hee did? Verily (said he) my friend I die with being too too well. There was a more equall Law in *Ægypt*, by which for the first three dayes the Physition tooke the patient in hand, upon the patients perill and fortune; but the three dayes expired, it was at his owne. For, *What reason is there, that Æsculapius their patrone must have beene stricken with Thunder, forsomuch as he recovered Hippolitus from death to life?*

*Nam pater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab umbris,  
Mortalem infernis, ad lumina surgere vita  
Ipse repertorem medicinæ talis, et artis  
Fulmine Phœbigenam stygias detruisit ad undas.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* vii. 770.

*Jove* scorning that from shades infernall night,  
 A mortall man should rise to lifes new light,  
*Apolloes* sonne to hell the thunder-threw,  
 Who such an arte found out, such med'cine knew,

**Belief in  
 remedies  
 necessary**

and his followers must be absolved, that send so many soules from life to death? A physition boasted unto *Nicocles*, that his Arte was of exceeding great authority, It is true (quoth *Nicocles*) for, it may kill so many people without feare of punishment by Law. As for the rest, had I beene of their counsell, I would surely have made my discipline more sacred and mysterious. They had begunne very well, but the end hath not answered the beginning. It was a good ground, to have made Gods and Dæmons Authors of their Science, to have assumed a peculiar language and writing to themselves. Howbeit philosophy supposeth it to be folly to perswade a man to his profit, by wayes not understood: *Ut si quis medicus imperet ut sumat: As if a Physitian should bid a man take.*

*Terrigenam, herbigradam, demiportam, sanguine cassam.*

—Cic. *Divin.* ii. 11

One earth-borne, goe-by-grasse, house-bearing,  
 slimie, bloodlesse

It was a good rule in their arte, and which accompanieth all fanaticall, vaine, and supernaturall artes, that *the patients believe must by good hope and assurance preoccupate their effect and operation.* Which rule they hold so farre forth, that the most ignorant and bungling horse-leach is fitter for a man that hath confidence in him,

**Mys-  
terious  
drugs**

than the skilfullest and learnedst physition. The very choyce of most of their Drugges, is somewhat mysterious and divine. *The left foote of a Tortoyze ; The stale of a Lizard ; The dongue of an Elephant ; The liver of a Mole, Blood drawne from under the right wing of a white Pigeon ;* And for us who are troubled with the stone-cholike (so disdainfully abuse they our misery) *Some Rattes pounded to small powder ;* and such other foolish trash, which rather seeme to be magike-spells or charmes, than effects of any solide science. I omit to speake of *The odde number of their pilles ; The destination of certaine dayes and feastes of the yeare ; The distinction of houres to gather the simples of their ingredients ; And the same reubarbative and severely-grave looke of theirs, and of their port and countenance ;* Which *Plinie* himselfe mocketh at. But, as I was about to say, they have failed, forsomuch as they have not added this to their faire beginning, to make their assemblies more religious, and their consultations more secret. No profane man should have accesse unto them, no more than to the secret ceremonies of *Æsculapius*. By which meanes it commeth to passe, that their irresolution, the weakenesse of their arguments, divinations and grounds, the sharpenesse of their contestations full of hatred, of jealousie and particular considerations, being apparant to all men ; a man must needes be starke blinde, if he who falleth into their hands, see not himselfe greatly endangered. *Who ever saw Physition use his fellowes receipt, without diminishing or adding*

*somewhat unto it?* Whereby they greatly be-  
 traie their Arte; And make us perceive, they  
 rather respect their reputation, and consequently  
 their profit, than the well-fare or interests of  
 their patients. He is the wisest amongst their  
 Doctors, who hath long since prescribed them  
 that one alone should meddle to cure a sicke  
 man; for, if it prosper not with him, and he do  
 no good, the reproch will not be great to the  
 Arte of physicke, through the fault of one man  
 alone; and on the other side, if it thrive well  
 with him, the Glorie shal be the greater. Whereas  
 if they be many, every hand-while they discover  
 their mysterie, because *They oftner happen to doe  
 ill than well.* They should have beene content  
 with the perpetuall dis-agreeing which is ever  
 found in the opinions of the principall Masters  
 and chiefe Authors of their Science, knowne  
 but by such as are conversant in Bookes, with-  
 out making apparent shew of the controversie,  
 and inconstancies of their judgement, which they  
 foster and continue amongst themselves. Will  
 wee have an example of the ancient debate of  
 Physicke? *Hirophils* placeth the originall cause  
 of sicknesse in the humours: *Erasistratus*, in  
 the blood of the Arteries: *Asclepiades*, in the  
 invisible Atomes that passe into our pores: *Alc-  
 meon*, in the abundance or [defect] of corporall  
 forces: *Diocles*, in the inequality of the bodies  
 elements, and in the quality of the aire, wee  
 breathe: *Strato*, in the abundance, cruditie and  
 corruption of the nourishment wee take: *Hipo-  
 crates* doth place it in the spirits. There is a

Ancient  
 differ-  
 ences  
 amongst  
 doctors



One friend of theirs, whom they know better than I, who to this purpose crieth out; that the most important science in use amongst us (as that which hath charge of our health and preservation) is by il hap, the most uncertaine, the most confused, and most agitated with infinite changes. There is no great danger to mistake the height of the Sunne, or misse-reckon the fraction of some Astronomical supputation; but herein, whereon our being and chiefe free-hold, doth wholly depend, it is no wisdom to abandon our selves to the mercy of the agitation of so manifold contrary windeas. Before the Peloponnesian war, there was no great newes of this science. *Hepocrates* brought it into credite. Whatsoever he established, *Chrysippus* overthrowed. Afterward *Erasistratus* Grand-Child to *Aristotle*, re-enversat what ever *Chrysippus* had written of it. After these, start up the Emperikes, who concerning the managing of this Arte, tooke a new course, altogether different from these ancient fathers. And when their credit began to growe stale; *Hiraphilus* brought another kinde of physicke into use, which *Asclepiades* when his turne came, impugned, and in the end subverted. Then came the opinions of *Themison* to bee in great authority, then those of *Musq*, and afterward those of *Vectius Valens*, a famous Physition, by reason of the acquaintance he had with *Messalina*. During the time of *Nero*, the soveraigntie of phisick fel to the hands of *Thesalus*, who abolished and condemned whatsoever had been held of it before his time. This

mans Doctrine was afterward wholly overthrowne by *Crinas* of *Marseille*, who a new revived and framed; that all men should direct and rule medicinable operations to the *Ephemerides* and motions of the starres, to eate, to drinke, to sleepe at what houre it should please *Luna* and *Mercurie*. His authority was soone after sup- planted by *Charinus* a Physition of the same towne of *Marseilles*, who not onely impugned ancient physicke, but also the use of warme and publike bathes, which had beene accustomed to many ages before. Hee caused men to bee bathed in cold Water; yea, were it in the deepe of winter he plunged and dived sicke men into the running streame of Rivers. Untill *Plinies* time no Romane had ever dained to exercise the arte of physicke, but was ever used by strangers and Græcians, as at this daie it is used in *France* by Latinizers. For, as a famous physition saith; we doe not easily admit and allow that physicke, which wee understand, nor those Drugs we gather our selves. If those nations from whom wee have the Wood *Guaiacum*, the *Salsaparcille*, and the Wood *Desquine*, have any physition amongst them; how much thinke we by the same commendation of the strangenesse, rarenesse and dearth; they will rejoyce at our coile-worts and paraly? For, who dareth contemne things sought and fetcht so farre-off with the hazard of so long and dangerous a peregrination? since these auncient mutations of physicke, there have beene infinite others, that have continued unto our dayes, and most often entire and ubi-

We value  
far-off  
drugs

Doctors  
work in  
the dark,

versall mutations; as are those which *Paracelsus*, *Fioravanti* and *Argentarius* have produced: for (as it is told me) they do not only change a receipt, but also the whole contexture and policie of physickes whole body, accusing such as hitherto have made profession thereof, of ignorance and cousinage. Now I leave to your imagination, in what plight the poore patient findeth himselfe. If we could but be assured, when they mistake themselves, their physick would do us no harme, although not profit us, *It were a reasonable composition, for a man to hazard himselfe to get some good, so he endangered not himselfe to lose by it.* *Æsop* reporteth this storie; that one who had bought a Moore-slave, supposing his blacke hew had come unto him by some strange accident, or ill usage of his former Master, with great diligence caused him to be medicined with divers bathes and sundry potions: It fortun'd the Moore did no whit mend or change his swarthy complexion, but lost his former health. *How often commeth it to passe, and how many times see we physitions charge one another with their patients death.* I remember a popular sicknesse, which some yeares since, greatly troubled the townes about mee, very mortall and dangerous; the rage whereof being over-past, which had carried away an infinite number of persons: One of the most famous physitions in all the cuntry, published a booke, concerning that disease wherein he adviseth himselfe, that they had done amisse to use phlebotomy, and confesseth, it had beene one of the principall causes of so

great an inconvenience. Moreover, their authors hold, that *there is no kinde of Physicke, but hath some hurtfull part in it.* And if those that fit our turne, doe in some sort harme us; what must those doe, which are given us to no purpose, and out of season? As for me, if nothing else belonged thereunto, I deeme it a matter very dangerous, and of great prejudice for him who loathes the taste, or abhorres the smell of a potion, to swallow it at so inconvenient houres, and so much against his heart. And I thinke it much distempereth a sicke man, namely in a season he hath so much neede of rest. Besides, consider, but the occasions, on which they ordinarily ground the cause of our sicknesses; they are so light and delicate, as thence I argue, *That a very small error in, compounding of their Drugges, may occasion us much detriment.* Now if the mistaking in a Physition be dangerous, it is very ill for us: for it is hard if he fall not often into it. *He hath neede of many parts, divers considerations and severall circumstances to, proportion his desseigne justly. He ought to know the sicke mans complexion, his temper, his humours, his inclinations, his actions; his thoughts and his imaginations. He must be assured of externall circumstances; of the nature of the place; the condition of the aire; the quality of the weather; the situation of the planets, and their influences. In sickness, he ought to be acquainted with the causes, with the signes, with the affections and criticall daies: In drugges he should understand their weight, their vertue and their operation, the country, the figure, the age, the*

and are  
constantly  
liable to  
mistakes

**Doctors differ** *dispensation*. In all these parts, he must know how to proportion and referre them one unto another; thereby to beget a perfect Symmetric or due proportion of each part: wherein if he misse never so little; or if amongst so many wheelles and several motions, the least be out of tune or temper; it is enough to marre all.

God knowes how hard the knowledge of most of these parts is: As for example, how shall he finde out the proper signe of the disease, every malady being capable of an infinite number of signes: How many debates, doubts and controversies have they amongst themselves about the interpretations of Urine? Otherwise whence should that continuall altercation come we see amongst them, about the knowledge of the disease? How should we excuse this fault, wherein they fall so often, to take a Martin for a Fox? In those diseases I have had (so they admitted any difficulty) I could never yet finde three agreeing in one opinion. I more willingly note examples that concerne my selfe. A Gentleman in *Paris* was not long since cut off the stone by the appointment of Physitions, in whose bladder they found no more stone, then in his hand: Where also a Bishop, who was my very good friend, had by his Phisitions been earnestly solicited to be cut; and my selfe, because they were of his counsell, upon their words, aided to perswade him to it; who being deceased and opened, it was found, he had no infirmity but in his reines. They are lesse excusable in this disease, forsomuch as it is in some sort palpable.

Whereby I judge the arte of Chirurgery much more certaine; For it seeth and handleth what it doth: and therein is lesse conjecture and divination. Whereas Phisitions have no *speculum matricis*, to discover our braine, our lungs, and our liver unto them. *The very promises of Phisicke are incredible.* For being to provide for divers and contrary accidents, which often trouble us together, and with a kinde of necessary relation one unto another: as the heate of the liver, and the cold of the stomacke, they will perswade us, that with their ingredients, this one shall warme the stomacke, and this other coole the liver: the one hath charge to goe directly to the reynes, yea even to the bladder, without enstalling his operation any where else, and by reason of it's secret propriety, keeping his force and vertue, all that long way, and so full of stops or lets, untill it come to the place, to whose service it is destined. Another shall drie the braine, and another moisten the lungs. Of all this hotch-pot having composed a mixture or potion, *is it not a kinde of raving, to hope their severall vertues shall divide and separate themselves from out such a confusion or commixture, to run to so divers charges?* I should greatly feare they would loose or change their tickets and trouble their quarters. And who can imagine, that in this liquid confusion, these faculties be not corrupted, confounded and alter one another? What? that the execution of this ordinance depends from another officer, to whose trust and mercy we must once more forsake our

'The very promises of Phisicke are incredible'

Doctors' remedies  
for one  
evil

lives? As we have doublet and hose-makers to make our cloths, and are so much the better fitted, in as much as each medleth with his owne trade, and such have their occupation more strictly limited, then a Tailer that will make all. And as for our necessary foode, some of our great Lords, for their more commodity and ease have severall cookes, as some only to dresse boyled meates, and some to roste, others to bake, whereas if one Cooke alone would supply all three in generall he could never doe it so exactly. In like sort for the curing of all diseases, the Ægyptians had reason to reject this generall mysterie of Physitians, and to sunder this profession for every malady, allotting each part of the body his distinct workman. For, every particular part was thereby more properly attended, and lesse confusedly goverened, and forsomuch as they regarded but the same especially. Our Physitians never remember, that *he who will provide for all, provideth for nothing*; and that the totall and summarie policy of this little world, is unto them undigestible. Whilst they feared to stop the course of a bloody flux, because he should not fal into an ague, they killed me a friend of mine who was more worth then all the rabble of them; yea were they as many more. They ballance their divinations of future things, with present evils, and *because they will not cure the braine in prejudice of the stomacke, they offend the stomacke and empaire the braine, and all by their*

*seditions and tumultuary drugs.* Concerning the variety and weaknes of the reasons of this Art, it is more apparent then in any other Art. Aperitive things are good for a man thats troubled with the collike, because, that opening and dilating the passages, they ad-dresse this slimy matter whereof the gravel and stone is ingendred, and so conway downeward whatsoever beginneth to harden and petrifie in the reines: Aperitive things are dangerous for a man thats troubled with the collick, because that opening and dilating the passages, they addresse towards the reines, the matter engendring gravell, which by reason of the propensions they have with it, easily seizing on the same, must by consequence stay great store of that which is convaied unto them. Morsover, if by chance it fortune to meet with a body, somewhat more grosse then it ought to be, to passe all those strait turnings, which to expel the same they must glide thorow; that body being moved by those soluble things, and cast in those strait chanel, and comming to stop them, it will doubtlesse hasten a certaine and most dolorous death. They have a like constancy about the counsels they give us, touching the regiment of our life. It is good to make water often; for by experience we see, that permitting the same idley to ly still, we give it leisure to discharge it selfe of her lees and excrements, which may serve to breed the stone in the bladder: It is good to make water but seldome, for the weighty dregs it drawes:

may  
cause;  
other and  
greater  
evils



Contra-  
dictory  
prescrip-  
tions

with it, are not easily caried away, except by violence: as by experience is seene in a torrent that runneth very swift, which sweepeth and clenseth the place through, which he passeth, much more then doth a slow-gliding streame. Likewise it is good to have often copulation with women; for that openeth the passages, and conuaieth the gravell away: It is also hurtfull; for it heateth, wearieth, and weakneth the reines. It is good for one to bathe himselfe in warme water; forsomuch as that looseth and moistneth the places where the gravel and stone lurketh: It is also bad; because this application of externall heat helpeth the reines to concoct, to harden and petrifie the matter disposed unto it. To such as are at the bathes, it is more healthfull to eat but little at night, that the water they are to drink the next morning, finding the stomacke empty, and without any obstacle, it may worke the greater operation: on the other side, it is better to eat but a little at dinner, lest a man might hinder the operation of the water, which is not yet perfect, and not to charge the stomacke so suddenly, after this other travell, and leave the office of digesting unto the night, which can better do it then the day; the body and spirit being then in continual motion and action. Loe heere how they in all their discourses juggle, dally, and trifle at our charge, and are never able to bring mee a proposition, but I can presently frame another to the contrary of like force and consequence. Let them then no

longer raile against those who in any sicknes, suffer themselves gently to be directed by their owne appetite, and by the counsell of nature; and who remit themselves to common fortune. I have by occasion of my travels scene almost all the famous Bathes of Christendome, and some yeers since have begun to use them: For, in generall I deeme bathing to be very good and healthy, and I am perswaded, we incurre no small incommodities in our health, by having neglected and lost this custome, which in former times were generally observed very neere amongst all Nations, and is yet with divers at this time to wash their bodies every day: And I cannot imagine but that we are much the worse with keeping our bodies all over-crusted, and our pores stopt with grease and filth. And touching the drinking of them, fortune hath first made it to agree very well with my taste: secondly it is naturall and simple; and though vaine, nothing dangerous: whereof this infinity of people of al sorts and complexions, and of all nations that come to them, doth warrant mee. And although I have as yet found no extraordinary good or wondrous effect in them, but rather having somewhat curiously examined the matter, I finde all the reports of such operations, which in such places are reported, and of many believed, to be false and fabulous. *So easily doth the world deceive it selfe, namely in things it desireth, or faine would have come to passe.* Yet have I seepe but few or none at

The use  
of Baths

Social en-  
joyment  
the best  
part of  
'waters'

al, whom these waters have made worse; and no man can without malice denie, but that they stirre up a mans appetite, make easie digestion, and except a man goe to them overweake and faint (which I would have none doe) they will adde a kinde of new mirth unto him. They have not the power to raise men from desperate diseases. They may stay some light accident, or prevent the threats of some alteration. Who-soever goeth to them, and resolveth not to be merry, that so he may enjoy the pleasure of the good company resorts to them, and of the pleasant walks or exercises, which the beauty of those places, where bathes are commonly seated, doth afford and delight men withall; he without doubt loseth the better part and most assured of their effect. And therefore have I hitherto chosen to stay my selfe and make use of those, where I found the pleasure of the scituation most delightsome, most conveniencie of lodging, of victuals and company, as are in *France* the bathes of *Banieres*; those of *Plombieres*, on the frontiers of *Germany* and *Lorraine*; those of *Baden* in *Switzerland*; those of *Luca* in *Tuscany*; and especially those of *Della villa*; which I have used most often and at divers seasons of the year. Every nation hath some particular opinion concerning their use, and severall lawes and formes how to use them, and all different: And as I have found by experience the effect in a manner all one. In *Germanie* they never use to drinke of the waters; but bathe themselves for all diseases, and wil lie padling in

them, almost from Sunne to Sunne. In *Italie* if they drinke nine dayes of the water, they wash themselves other thirtie dayes with it. And commonly they drinke it mixt with other drugges, thereby to helpe the operation. Here our Physitions appoint us when wee have drunke to walke upon it, that so wee may helpe to digest it: There, so soone as they have drunke, they make them lie a bed, untill they have voyded the same out againe, continually warming their stomack and feete with warme clothes. All the Germanes whilest they lie in the water, doe particularly use cupping glasses, and scarifications: And the Italians use their *Doccie*, which are certaine spowts running with warme waters, conveyed from the bathes-spring in leaden pipes, where, for the space of a month, they let it spout upon their heads, upon their stomacke, or upon any other part of the bodie, according as neede requireth, one houre in the forenoone, and as long in the afternoone. There are infinit other differences of customes in every countrey: or to say better, there is almost no resemblances betweene one and other. See how this part of Physicke, by which alone I have suffered my selfe to be carried away, which though it be least artificiall, yet hath she the share of the confusion and uncertainty, seene in all other parts and every where of this arte. Poets may say what they list, and with more emphasis and grace: witnessse these two Epigrammes.

Different  
treat-  
ment at  
different  
baths

Two epi-  
grams

*Alcon hesterno signum Jovis atigit. Ille  
Quamvis marmoreus, vim patitur medici.  
Ecce hodie jussus transferri ex æde vetusta,  
Effertur, quamvis sit Deus atque lapis.*  
—LUCIL. AUSEN. *Epig.* lxxviii.

*Alcon* look't yester-day on carved *Jove*.  
*Jove*, though of Marble, feels the leeches force,  
From his old Church to day made to remove,  
Though God and Stone, hee's carried like a  
coarse.

And the other :

*Lotus nobiscum est hilaris, cenavit et idem,  
Inventus mane est mortuus Androgoras.  
Tam subita mortis causam Faustine requiris?  
In somnis medicum viderat Hermocratem.*  
—MART. vi. *Epig.* liii.

*Androgoras* in health bath'd over night with us,  
And merry supt, but in the morne starke dead  
was found.  
Of his so sudden death, the cause shall I discusse.  
*Hermocrates* the Leech he saw in sleepe unsound.

Upon which I will tell you two pretty stories.  
The Baron of *Caupene* in *Chalosse* and I, have  
both in common the right of the patronage of  
a benefice, which is of a very large precinct,  
situated at the feet of our Mountaines named  
*Lobontan*. It is with the inhabitants of that  
corner, as it is said to be with those of the  
valley of *Angrougne*. They leade a kind of  
peculiar life; their [fashion, their] attire, and their  
customs apart and severall. They were directed  
and governed by certaine particular policies and  
customs, received by tradition from Father  
to Child: Whereto, without other Lawes or

Compulsion, except the reverence and awe of their custome and use, they awefully tie and bound themselves. This petty state had from all antiquity continued in so happy a condition, that no neighbouring severe judge had ever beene troubled to enquire of their life and affaires, nor was ever Attorney or Petty-fogging Lawyer called for, to give them advise or counsell; nor stranger sought unto to determine their quarrels or decide their contentions; neither were ever beggars seen among them. They alwaies avoyded commerce and shunned alliances with the other World, lest they should alter the purity of their orders and policy; untill such time (as they say) that one amongst them, in their fathers daies, having a minde puffed up with a noble ambition, to bring his name and credit in reputation, devised to make one of his Children *Sir John Lachelations*; or *Master Peter an Oake*: And having made him learne to write in some neighbour Towne not farre off; at last procured him to be a country Notary, or Petty-fogging Clark. This fellow having gotten some pelfe and become great, began to disdain their ancient customes, and put the pompe and statelines of our higher regions into their heads. It fortun'd that a chiefe Gossip of his had a Goate dishorned, whom he so importunately solicited to sue the Trespasser, and demand law and right at the Justicers hands, that dwelt thereabouts; And so never ceasing to sow sedition and breed suites amongst his neighbours, he never left

Montaigne's  
two  
pretty  
stories.  
The first

Dis-  
turbing  
effects of  
law and  
physic

till he had confounded and marred all. After this corruption or intrusion of law (they say) there ensued presently another mischief of worse consequence, by means of a Quack-salver, or Empirike Physition that dwelt amongst them; who would needs be married to one of their daughters, and so endenizon and settle himself amongst them.

This gallant began first to teach and instruct them in the names of agewes, rheumes and impostumes; then the scituation of the heart, of the liver and other intrailles: A Science untill then never known or heard of among them. And in stead of ganlike, wherewith they had learned to expell, and were wont to cure all diseases, of what qualitie and how dangerous soever they were, he induced and inured them, were it but for a cough or cold, to take strange compositions and potions: And thus beganne to traffoike not only their health, but also their deaths. They swear, that even from that time, they have apparantly perceived, that the evening Sereine or night-calme bred the head-ach and blasted them; that to drinke being hot or in a sweat empaired their healths; that Autumnne windes were more unwholesome and dangerous, then those of the spring-time: And that since his slibber-sawces, potions and physicke came first in use; they finde themselves molested and distempered with Legions of unaccustomed maladies and unknowne diseases; and plainly feele and sensibly perceive a generall weakenesse and declination in their antient vigor; and that

their lives are nothing so long, as before they were. Loe here the first of my tales. The other is, that before I was troubled with the stone-chollicke and gravell in the bladder, hearing divers make especiall account of a hee-goates blood, as a heavenly *Manna* sent in these latter ages for the good and preservation of mans life: and hearing men of good understanding speake of it, as of an admirable and much-good-working drugge, and of an infallible operation: I, who have ever thought my selfe subject to all accidents, that may in any sort fall on man, being yet in perfect health, began to take pleasure to provide my selfe of this myracle, and forthwith gave order (according to the receipt) to have a Buck-goate gotten, and carefully fed in mine owne house. For the blood must be drawne from him in the hottest month of Summer, and he must onely be fed with soluble hearbes, and drincke nothing but White-wine. It was my fortune to come to mine owne house the very same day the Goate should be killed; where some of my people came in haste to tell me, that my Cooke found two or three great bowles in his paunch, which in his maw amongst his meat shocked one against another. I was so curious as I would needes have all his garbage brought before me; the thicke and large skinne whereof I caused to be opened, out of which came three great lumps or bodies, as light as any sponge, so framed as they seemed to be hollow, yet outwardly hard and very firme, bemotted with divers dead and wannish colours: The one

Montaigne's  
second  
story



A vaine remedy perfectly as round as any bowle, the other two somewhat lesse, and not so round, yet seemed to grow towards it. I have found (after I had made diligent inquiry among such as were wont to open such beasts) that it was a seld-seene and unheard of accident. It is very likely they were such stones as ours be, and cozen-germanes to them; which if it be, it is but vaine for such as be troubled with the stone or gravell to hope to be cured, by meanes of a beasts blood, that was drawing neere unto death, and suffered the same disease. For, to aleadge the blood cannot participate of that contagion, and doth no whit therby alter his accustomed vertue, it may rather be inferred that nothing ingendereth in a body, but by consent and communication of all the parts. The whole masse doth worke, and the whole frame agitate altogether, although one part, according to the diversitie of operations, doth contribute more or lesse than another; whereby it manifestly appeareth, that in all parts of this bucke-goate, there was some grettie or petrificant qualitie. It was not so much for feare of any future chaunce, or in regard of my selfe, that I was so curious of this experiment; as in respect, that as well in mine owne house, as else-where in sundry other places, it commeth to passe, that many women do often gather and lay up in store, divers such kindes of slight druggs to help their neighbours, and other people with them, in time of necessitie; applying one same remedie to an hundred severall diseases: yea many times such as they would be very loath to take them-

selves; with which they often have good lucke, and well thrives it with them. As for me I honour Physitions, not according to the common-receiv'd rule, for necessitie sake. (for to this passage another of the Prophets may be alleaged who reprov'd King Asa, because he had recourse unto Physitions) but rather for love I beare unto themselves; having seene some, and knowe diverse honest men amongst them, and worthy all love and esteeme. *It is not them I blame, but their Arte*; yet doe I not greatly condemne them for seeking to profit by our foolishnesse (for most men do so) and it is a thing common to all worldlings. *Diverse professions and many vocations, both more and lesse worthie than theirs, subsist and are grounded onely upon publike abuses and popular errors.* I send for them when I am sicke, if they may conveniently be found; and love to be entertained by them, rewarding them as other men doe. I give them authority to enjoyne me to keepe my selfe warme, if I love it better so than otherwise. They may chuse, be it either leekes or lettuce, what my broth shall be made withall, and appoint me either white or claret to drink: and so of other things else, indifferent to my taste, humour or custome. I know well it is nothing to them, forsomuch as *Sharpenesse and Strangenesse are accidents of physikes proper essence.* *Lycurgus* allowed and appoynted the sicke men of *Sparta* to drinke wine. Why did he so? Because being in health, they hated the use of it. Even as a Gentleman who

Mon- :  
taigne's  
attitude  
towards  
doctors

Do doctors dwellleth not farre from me, useth wine as a  
physic them- selves? soveraigne remedie against agewa, because being  
in perfect health, he hateth the taste thereof as  
death. How many of them see we to be of  
my humour? That is, to disdain all Physicke  
for their owne behoofe, and live a kinde of  
formall free life, and altogether contrary to that,  
which they prescribe to others? And what is  
that, but a manifest abusing of our simplicitie?  
For, they hold their life as deare, and esteeme  
their health as pretious as wee do ours, and  
would apply their effects to their skill, if them-  
selves knew not the uncertainty and falsehood  
of it. It is the feare of paine and death; the  
impatience of the disease and griefe: and indis-  
creet desire and headlong thirst of health, that  
so blindeth them, and us. It is meere faintnes  
that makes our conceit: and pusillanimitie forceth  
our credulitie, to be so yeelding and pliable.  
The greater part of whom doe notwithstanding  
not beleeve so much, as they endure and suffer  
of others: For I heare them complaine, and  
speake of it no otherwise than we doe. Yet in  
the end are they resolved. What should I doe  
then? As if impatience were in it selfe a better  
remedie than patience. Is there any of them,  
that hath yeelded to this miserable subjection,  
that doth not likewise yeelde to all maner of  
impostures? or dooth not subject himselfe to the  
mercie of whomsoever hath the impudencie to  
promise him recoverie, and warrant him health?  
The Babilonians were wont to carry their  
sicke people, into the open streetes: the common

sort were there physitions: where all such as passed by, were by humanitie and civilitie to enquire of their state and maladie, and according to their skill or experience, give them some sound advise and good counsell. We differ not greatly from them: There is no poore Woman so simple, whose mumbling and muttering, whose slobber-slabbers and drenches we doe not employ. And as for mee, were I to buy any medicine, I would rather spend my money in this kinde of Physicke, than in any other: because therein is no danger or hurt to be feared. What *Homer* and *Plato* said of the *Ægyptians*, that they were all Physitions, may well be said of all people. There is neither Man nor Woman, that vanteth not himselfe to have some receipt or other, and doth not hazard the same upon his neighbour, if he will but give credite unto him.

I was not long since in a company, where I wot not who of my fraternity, brought newes of a kinde of pilles, by true accompt, composed of a hundred, and odde severall ingredients; Whereat we laughed very heartily, and made our selves good sport: For, what rocke so hard were able to resist the shooke, or withstand the force of so thicke and numerous a battery? I understand neverthelesse, of such as tooke of them, that the least graine of gravell dained not to stirre at all. I cannot so soone give over writing of this subject, but I must needs say a word or two, concerning the experience they have made of their prescriptions, which they would have us take as a warantice or assurance.

A pill  
battery

The value of simples of the certainty of their drugges and potions. The greatest number, and as I deeme, more than the two thirds of medicinable vertues, consist in the quintessence or secret propriety of simples, whereof wee can have no other instruction but use and custome. For, *Quintessence is no other thing than a quality, whereof wee cannot with our reason finde out the cause.* In such trials or experiments, those which they affirme to have acquired by the inspiration of some Dæmon, I am contented to receive and allow of them (for, touching myracles, I meddle not with them) or be it the experiments drawne from things, which for other respects fall often in use with us: As if in Wooll, wherewith we went to cloth our selves, some secret exsiccating or drying quality, have by accident beene found, that cureth kibes or chilblaines in the heeles; and if in reddishes, we eat for nourishment, some opening or aperitive operation have beene discovered. *Galen* reporteth, that a Leprous man chanced to be cured, by meanes of a Cuppe of Wine he had drunke, forsomuch as a Viper was by fortune fallen into the Wine caske. In which example we finde the meane, and a very likely directory to this experience. As also in those, to which Physitions affirme, to have beene addressed by the examples of some beasts. But in most of other experiences, to which they say they came by fortune, and had no other guide but hazard, I finde the progresse of this information incredible. I imagine man, heedfully viewing about him the infinite number of

things, creatures, plants and mettals. I wot not **Fantasies**  
 where to make him beginne his Essay; And **of the**  
 suppose he cast his first fantasie upon an Elkes- **mind**  
 Horne, to which an easie and gentle credulity  
 must be given; he will be as farre to seeke,  
 and as much troubled in his second operation:  
 So many diseases and severall circumstances are  
 proposed unto him, that before hee come to the  
 certainty of this point, unto which the perfec-  
 tion of his experience should arrive, mans wit  
 shall be to seeke, and not know where to turne  
 himselfe; And before (amiddest this infinity  
 of things) hee finde out what this Horne is:  
 Amongst the numberlesse diseases that are, what  
 an Epilepsie is; the sundry and manifolde com-  
 plexions in a melancholy man; So many seasons  
 in Winter: So diverse Nations amongst French-  
 men; So many ages in age; So diverse coelestiall  
 changes and alterations, in the conjunction of  
*Venus* and *Saturne*; So severall and many partes  
 in a mans body, nay in one of his fingers. To  
 all which being neither guided by argument, nor  
 by conjecture, nor by example, or divine inspi-  
 ration, but by the onely motion of fortune; it  
 were most necessary, it should be by a perfectly  
 artificiall, well-ordred, and methodicall fortune.  
 Moreover, suppose the disease thorowly cured,  
 how shall he rest assured, but that either the  
 evill was come to his utmost period, or that an  
 effect of the hazard, caused the same health?  
 Or the operation of some other thing, which  
 that day he had either eaten, drunke or touched?  
 or whether it were by the merite of his Grand-

Who shall judge? mothers prayers? Besides, suppose this experiment to have been perfect, how many times was it applied and begun anew; And how often was this long and tedious web of fortunes and encounters woven over againe, before a certaine rule might be concluded? And being concluded, by whom is it I pray you? *Amongst so many millions of men, you shall scarce meeete with three or foure, that will duely observe, and carefully keepe a Register of their experiments; shall it be your, or his happe, to light truely, or hit just with one of them three or foure? What if another man? Nay what if a hundred other men have had and made contrary experiments, and cleane opposite conclusions, and yet have sorted well? We should peradventure discern some shew of light, if all the judgements and consultations of men were knowne unto us. But That three Witnesses and three Doctors shall sway all mankind, there is no reason.* It were requisite, humane nature had appointed and made speciall choise of them, and that by expresse procuracy and letter of attorny they were by her declared our Judges and deputed our Attornies.

## TO MY LADY OF DURAS

**M**ADAME, the last time it pleased you to come and visite me, you found me upon this point. And because it may be, these toys of mine may happily come to your hands: I would have them witnesse, their author reputeth himselfe highly honoured, for the favours it shall please you to shew them. Wherein you shall discerne the very same demeanor and self-countenance, you have seene in his conversation. And could I have assumed unto my selfe any other fashion, than mine owne accustomed, or more honourable and better forme, I would not have done it: For, al I seeke to reape by my writings, is, they will naturally represent and to the life, pourtray me to your remembrance. The very same conditions and faculties, it pleased your Lady-ship to frequent and receive, with much more honor and curtesie, than they any way deserve, I will place and reduce (but without alteration and change) into a solide body, which may happily continue some dayes and yeares after mee: Where, when soever it shall please you to refresh your memory with them, you may easily finde them, without calling them to remembrance; which they scarsely deserve. I would entreate you to continue the favour of your Friend-ship towards me, by the same qualities, through whose meanes it was produced. I labour not to be beloved more and esteemed

A Dedi-  
cation



Mon-  
 taigne's  
 endea-  
 vour was  
 to live,  
 not to  
 write

better being dead, than alive. The humour of *Tyberius* is ridiculous and common, who endeavoured more to extinguish his glory in future ages, than yeeld himselfe regardfull and pleasing to men of his times. If I were one of those, to whom the World may be indebted for praise, I would quit it for the one moytie, on condition it would pay me before-hand: And that the same would hasten, and in great heapes environ me about, more thicke than long, and more full than lasting. And let it hardly vanish with my knowledge, and when this sweet alluring sound shall no more tickle mine eares. It were a fond conceit, now I am ready to leave the commerce of men, by new commendations, to goe about, anew to beget my selfe unto them.

I make no account of goods, which I could not employ to the use of my life. Such as I am, so would I be elsewhere then in Paper. Mine art and industry have been employed to make my selfe of some worth. My study and endeavour to doe, and not to write. I have applied all my skill and devoute to frame my life. Lo-heere mine occupation and my worke. I am a lesse maker of bookes, then of any thing else. I have desired and aimed at sufficiencie, rather for the benefite of my present and essentiall commodities, then to make a store-house, and hoard it up for mine heires. Whosoever hath any worth in him, let him shew it in his behaviour, maners and ordinary discourses; be it to treat of love or of quarrels; of sport and play or bed-matters, at board or else-where; or be it

in the conduct of his owne affaires, or private household matters. Those whom I see make good bookes, having tattered hosen and ragged clothes on, had they believed me they should first have gotten themselves good clothes. Demand a Spartan, whether he would rather be a cunning Rhethorician, then an excellent Souldier: nay were I asked, I wuld say, a good Cooke, had I not some to serve me. Good Lord (Madame) how I would hate such a commendation, to be a sufficient man in writing, and a foolish-shallow-headed braine or coxcombe in all things else: yet had I rather be a foole, both here and there, then to have made so base a choise, wherein to imploy my worth. So farre am I also from expecting, by such trifles to gaine new honour to my self: as I shal think I make a good bargain, if I loose not a part of that little, I had already gained. For, besides that this dombe and dead picture, shall derogate and steale from my naturall being, it fadgeth not and hath no reference unto my better state, but is much fallen from my first vigor and naturall jollity, enclining to a kinde of drooping or mouldinesse. I am now come to the bottome of the vessell, which beginneth to taste of his dregs and lees. Otherwise (good Madame) I should not have dared so boldly to have ripped up the mysteries of Physicke, considering the esteeme and credite your selfe, and so many others, ascribe unto it, and hold it in; had I not bene directed therunto by the authors of the same. I thinke they have but two ancient

Many things to be considered before writing

If Montaigne used physic it would show ones in Latine, to wit *Pliny* and *Celsus*. If you fortune at any time to looke into them, you shall finde them to speake much more rudely of their Art, then I doe. I but pinch it gently, they cut the throate of it. *Pliny* amongst other things, doth much scoffe at them, forsomuch as when they are at their wits end, and can go no further, they have found out this goodly shift, to send their long-turmoiled, and to no end much tormented patient, with their drugs and diets, some to the helpe of their voves and myracles, and some others to hot Baths and waters. (Be not offended noble Lady, he meaneth not those on this side, under the protection of your house, and all *Gramontoises*.) They have a third kinde of shift or evasion to shake us off and discharge themselves of the imputations or reproaches, wee may justly charge them with, for the small amendment of our infirmities; whereof they have so long had the surway and government, as they have no more inventions or devises left them, to amuse us with; that is, to send us, to seeke and take the good aire of some other Country. Madam, we have harped long enough upon one string; I hope you will give me leave to come to my former discourses againe, from which for your better entertainment, I had somewhat digressed.

It was (as farre as I remember) *Pericles*, who being demanded, how he did; you may (said he) judge it by this, shewing certaine scroules or briefes he had tied about his necke and armes. He would infer, that he was very

sicke, since he was forced to have recourse to such vanities, and had suffered himselfe to be so drest. I affirme not, but I may one day be drawne to such fond opinions, and yeeld my life and health to the mercy, discretion, and regiment of Phisitions. I may happily fall into this fond madnesse; I dare not warrant my future constancy. And even then if any aske me how I doe, I may answer him as did *Pericles*; You may judge, by shewing my hand fraughted with six drammes of Opium. It will be an evident token of a violent sicknesse. My judgement shall be exceedingly out of temper. If impa-  
 cience or feare get that advantage upon me, you may thereby conclude some quelling fever hath seized upon my minde. I have taken the paines to plead this cause, whereof I have but small understanding, somewhat to strengthen and comfort naturall propensio~~n~~, against the drugs and practise of our Physicke, which is derived into me from mine ancestors: lest it might only be a stupid and rash inclination; and that it might have a little more forme. And that also those, who see me so constant against the exhortations and threates, which are made against me, when sicknesse commeth upon me, may not thinke it to be a meere conceit, and simple wilfulnesse; And also, lest there be any so peevisch, as to judge it to be some motive of vaine glory. *It were a strange desire, to seeke to draw honour from an action, common both to me, to my Gardiner, or to my Groome.* Surely my heart is not so pufft up, nor so windy, that a solide, fleshy and  
 his en-  
 feebled  
 mind.

Diversity  
the most  
universal  
quality

marrowy pleasure, as health is; I should change it for an imaginary spirituall and airy delight. Renowme or glory (were it that of *Aymons* four sons) is' over deerely bought by a man of my humour, if it cost him but three violent fits of the chollike. Give me health a Gods name. Those that love our Physicke, may likewise have their considerations good, great and strong, I hate no fantasies contrary to mine. I am so far from vexing my selfe, to see my judgement differ from other mens, or to grow incompatible of the society or conversation of men, to be of any other faction or opinion then mine owne; that contrariwise (as variety is the most generall fashion that nature hath followed, and more in the mindes, then in the bodies: forsomuch as they are of a more supple and yeelding substance and susceptible or admitting of formes) I finde it more rare to see our humor or desseignes agree in one. And never were there two opinions in the world alike, no more than two haire, or two graines. *Diversity is the most universall quality.*

*The end of the second Booke.*

END OF VOL. IV.

*The present issue of Florio's translation of "Montaigne's ESSAYS" has been edited by Mr. A. R. Waller, who has revised the text, and added the Marginalia, Glossary, and Notes.*

I. G.

*Midsummer Day, 1897.*

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for a systematic and consistent approach to data collection, as well as the importance of using appropriate statistical methods to analyze the results.

3. The third part of the document discusses the challenges and limitations of data collection and analysis. It notes that there are often many obstacles to obtaining accurate and complete data, and that the results of data analysis can be difficult to interpret and apply in practice.

4. The fourth part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and conclusions of the study. It emphasizes that the data collected and analyzed in this study provide strong evidence for the importance of maintaining accurate records and using appropriate methods to collect and analyze data.

## NOTES

*Texts.*—The three Folios of Florio are indicated in the Notes thus: A = 1603; B = 1613; C = 1632.  
M = Montaigne.

*Frontispiece.*—Mlle. de Gournay, after the portrait of Mathéus, and Pierre de Brach, after Thomas de Leu, etched by Mr. H. Crickmore. They were the careful creators of the generally adopted text of Montaigne's *Essays*, published in 1595, three years after his death, established upon corrections and additions made by Montaigne after the edition of 1588.

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4. *way of composition*, men of tranquil minds.
4. *paces*, A and B; spaces, C.
5. *facility*, A; faculty, B and C.
6. *than is whitenesse . . . stone*, than is the whiteness of snow or the weight of a stone to us.
8. *our judgment*, our natural judgment.
9. After "do never agree" add "about any thing."
9. *and learne by others harmes*: not in M.
12. *according as . . . in mind*: not in M.
12. *and alteration of weather*: not in M.
13. *if diligent care be not given unto him, i.e.*, if he does not attend closely to himself.
17. *ventred his fingers end*, risked the burning of his finger's end.
17. *soules actions*, soul's finest actions.
20. *thinks it not*: it = philosophy.
20. *in yong mens harts*: it would be more clear if these words followed "produced" in the line below.
21. *to encrease*, to increase and swell.
24. *Paracelsus*: the Swiss-German alchemist who died in 1541.
24. *obused themselves*, miscalculated.
26. *deceived*, A and B; deceived, C.



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26. *his countenance*: his = the world's.
27. *mortal*, A and B; *immortal*, C.
27. *planets*, A; *plants*, B and C.
28. *other*, A; *their*, B and C.
29. *stopped*, A and B; *stoped*, C.
31. *to the promotion of certaine officers (offices)*, A, upon promotion to a certain office.
33. *robur*, A and B; *robor*, C.
37. *four score*, eighty-eight.
39. *our neighbours the English-men*. M. is speaking of the religious changes of 1534-1558.
40. *injustice*, A and B; *justice*, C.
40. *that ancient God*, i.e., Apollo.
40. After "worshipping of God" add "for each one."
41. *which he should urge him with, etc.*, i.e., which any one should do to him who would incite, etc.
43. Omit "wisely" after "Licurgus."
44. *for his dinner*: not in M.
45. *harnest matches . . . raines*, horses coupled in harness submit to the reins.
47. *Diogarchus*, Dicæarchus.
47. *complaine of reason*, reduce it to reason.
48. *graft . . . upon a table*, stand upon his hands and head, with his feet in the air.
48. *unto that time*, A; *thetherunto*, B and C.
50. *bred a longing desire, in the by-standers, . . . they . . . their, wished . . . He . . . his*; "faisoit souhait," M.
50. *bitter*, A and B; *biter*, C.
52. *found in so frequent and ancient custome*, i.e., a custom so frequent and ancient.
52. *Grammer Schoole Maisters*, teachers by *landy*, M. (*landy* = a donation given by scholars to their master.—*Coste*).
53. *and would apply them to himselfe*: not in M.
54. *tune*, tone.
58. *high or wide*, i.e., above or wide of the mark.
59. *and fruit*. M. says "the best pear."
60. *his meane*: his = the sense's.
60. *to report*, wanting in.
60. *inimaginable* (= unimaginable), A; *imaginable*, B and C.
60. *sight and discourse*: the comma should come after "sight," and not after "discourse."

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61. *which euerie subject . . . is it*, that every subject . . . in it [this being the first of the fantasies].
62. *amongst the Epicurians*: in the judgment of the Epicureans:—*Coste*.
63. A full stop is needed between “veritie” and “he cannot.”
64. *bullet*, harquebus bullet.
64. *belly-ache*, belly.
65. *mine eyes*, A and B; *mines eyes*, C.
68. *of Italie*: not in M.
71. *bring dreames asleepe*, i.e., cause dreams to fall asleep.
79. *contrarieties*, A; *contraries*, B and C.
80. *In few*, in fine.
82. *or we love them*, or we praise them.
84. *sans ending*. The long passage from Plutarch (the four lines from Lucretius excepted) ends here; it began on p. 81 with the words, “and that one mortall substance.”
86. *unto it selfe things alike*, things to itself erroneously [or in a disorderly manner; “abusivment,” M.].
88. *his infinitie*: his = heaven’s.
90. *Prussia*: Brusse = Abruzzi, Italy.
91. *premeditated*, A and B; *premediated*, C.
91. *and hasten the execution*, and hasten and press on the execution.
92. *experienced to arive*, experimented whether I could arrive.
93. After “gummes being swolne” add “and rotten.”
94. *brute*, A; *bruit*, B and C.
96. After “one then another” add “being all alike.”
99. *Marca d’Ancona* [“in Italy” is an addition of F.’s]. The Shrine of Our Lady of Loretto is here. *James* = S. James of Compostella in Galicia.—*Coste*.
100. *put forth . . . to soyle*, turned out into a breeding paddock; “chassé au haras,” M.
100. *he hath in his free choise*: he, his = the appetite.
101. *a mistress*: plural in M.
102. *wilfull quaintnesse*, tranquil coldness; “froideur rassise,” M.
103. *agree to withstand*, yield themselves to; “s’accordent,” M.
103. *doth surmount*, doth not surmount; “ne surmonté point,” M.

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106. *They should all be consumed, i.e.,* public funds would be exhausted in defending private garrisons.
107. *how and as long as it list,* into new parties.
107. Before "of my quality" add "in France."
109. *honneur, A and B; honnetur, C.*
113. *Sp. Peduceus, Sextus Peduceus.*
113. *Not only repugnant,* Not only not against the laws; "non seulement, non contre les loix," M.
114. No break is needed between "by it" and "But to."
115. After "must be lost" add "without witness."
119. *by, A and B; be, C.*
119. *milde, A and B; middle, C.*
121. *falcified, A; false-fierd, B and C.*
122. *divers poore, fifty poor.*
122. *infirmity of it's excesse, excess of this malady.*
123. *confound our webbe, i.e.,* mix our affairs.
126. *We have but, We have not.*
126. *pursuite of her,* following him (= Cæsar).
128. *peoples good estimation, good repute and esteem of the people.*
128. *And therefore . . . miracles.* This sentence should follow, not precede, the translation of the quotation.
129. *Jovinuile, Joinville.*
132. *in base things,* in the crowd.
132. *doe it, i.e.,* speak for themselves.
133. *scratch, A and B; scrath, C.*
133. Omit "often" before "purchase."
133. *but wrong fully,* but often wrongfully.
134. *It is, because, It is, that.*
134. A full stop is needed at "very farre."
134. *prerogative, A and B; perogative, C.*
135. *as children, i.e.,* as it does children.
137. *of tho, A and B; omitted in C.*
137. After "owne behalf" add "I disavow myself incessantly."
138. *Why have we no such people? i.e.,* as those of whom M. is going to speak.—*Coste.*
138. *in their course, i.e.,* in the race.
139. *usurped:* not in M.
139. *fixed,* strengthened and settled.
140. *which presents me,* and a certain troubled image, which present me, as in a dream.

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141. *first comers*, A and B; *comers*, C.
141. *I speake*, I freely speak.
142. *least* [= least often] *in play*: *least*, A; *last . . . last*, B and C.
142. *in speaking*, in speaking and treating.
143. *As well in silence*, As well in acts; "*comme à faire*," M., not "*comme à taire*."
143. *ult. about us*, above us.
144. *Beauty is a part*. A new paragraph should begin here.
146. *The Courtier*. A work published in Italian by Balthasar Castiglione in 1528.—*Corte*.
146. No full stop is needed between "*tallnes*" and "*I would*."
147. *at worke*, at this fine work.
149. *to any indifferent*, but to indifferent.
150. After "*to unquietnes*)" add "*and with that degree of intelligence which I have felt needful*."
152. *ready . . . patiently*. This is the opinion M. refers to in the line above: "*and*" before "*ready*" is superfluous.
153. Add "*divers*" before "*shakings of consultation*."
153. *mishaps*, A; *mishapes*, B and C.
155. *Prop*, A and B; *Throp*, C.
156. *of France*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
156. *nequeas*, A; *nequeat*, B and C.
157. *in part of paiement*, on advantageous terms; "*à bon compte*," M.
158. *though the prise of truth goe on it*, at the cost of truth.
158. *and for that he serveth*, and because it is useful to him.
159. *would say something, i.e.*, would speak with some show of reason.—*Le Clerc*.
160. *and daily . . . sacrileges, i.e.*, and almost always presents itself therein, as in all other evils, renders it so that sacrileges. [The brackets are needless.]
160. *As for me, I had rather, etc.* A. Duval points out that this phrase should be connected with the sentence on the preceding page, "*He who is disloyall to truth*," etc.
162. *all the repast*, even for the requirements of my repast.
164. *forget the word*, forget the watchword.
166. *have tri'd it*, have not tried it; "*ne l'ont essayé*," M.

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 167. *There are divers*, The greater number.  
 169. *I saw*, One day I saw.  
 170. *history of God*, Divine history.  
 171. After "double" add "replies."  
 172. *his ancient*: his = the people's.  
 174. *namis*, A; *harme*, B and C.  
 174. *prise*, A (= prize, value); *price*, B and C.  
 176. *challenge* . . . *correspondencie*, lay claim to it (= the commendation) for regularity. For a notable and brilliant action or for some particular ability, I lay claim to it (= the commendation) for order, correspondency.  
 179. *not good and wittie, but wise and learned*, not good and wise, but learned.  
 180. *not home*, not home only.  
 182. *Marie Gournay*: Marie de Jars, daughter of William de Jars, Sieur de Gournay. M.'s adopted daughter, and editor of his works after his death. Born 1566; died 1645.  
 183. *by reason* . . . *to know me*. M. means that he was fifty-five at the writing of the passage.  
 183. *is an accident*: plural in M.  
 186. After "seale" add "the prayer-bookes."  
 186. After "sword" add "which they wore."  
 186. *or a Grocer* . . . *pepper*: not in M.  
 187. *diverted*, A and B; *inverted*, C.  
 190. *That good-fellow-Gracian*, i. e., Lysander.—*Coste*.  
 194. *affecting*: the clause beginning with this word applies to Julian, not to the Bishop.  
 194. *over*, A; *never*, B and C.  
 195. line 2. *This man*, i. e., Julian.  
 197. After "follow and serve" add "his own."  
 198. *what they could not, what they could*; "ce qu'ils pouvoient," M.  
 200. *our last friends*, our lost friends.  
 202. *Whosoever searcheth at the circumstances, etc.* These words are related to "Affaires neede not bee sifted," etc., above.—*A. Duval*.  
 202. *cunning Arithmeticians*, clever talkers; "suffisants conteurs," M.  
 203. *to see unto*, i. e., to be seen.  
 204. *Saint*, A; *St.*, B and C.

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204. After "had reason to say" add "it seems to me."
205. *their fortunes*, the same.
207. *thicks and threefold*: not in M.
209. *upon his mouth*, upon his closed mouth.
210. *in his heart*, in his head and in his heart.
210. *penult*. After "rode" add "towards him."
212. *could*, A and B; *cold*, C.
213. *which possess Greece*, which at present possess Greece.
213. *penult*. After "sometimes" add "purposely."
214. After "general peace" add "which he made with our king."
216. After "one another" add "to the last."
217. After "would lie down" add "to render up their breath."
217. *maidens*, A; *maidnes*, B; *maidnesse*, C.
217. *which were sold*, who sold themselves.
218. *for a very small some of mony*, for money.
218. *for*, A and B; *from*, C.
219. *Yet some ages*, Indeed some ages.
219. *his history . . . his credit, i.e.*, Roman history . . . Rome's credit.
219. *would*, A and B; *wold*, C.
220. No full stop is needed between "written lines" and "He had."
220. *the great Turke*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
222. *visual*, A and B; *usual*, C.
222. *it will swell, i.e.*, that which remains [or, is uncovered] will swell.
222. *the fore aleaged, i.e.*, the others just quoted.
223. *affected*, A; *effected*, B and C.
225. *turing and hiss*, press close and lower (*i.e.*, turn in); "comprimer et baisser" (not "baiser"), M.
228. *keep him at a bay*, oblige him to yield.
230. *dead*, "with the d.," A and B; with the head, C.
230. *be not by*. The quotation ends here.
231. *let any man be engaged*, that they engage themselves therein.
232. *pluralitie . . . single man*, multitude of each side is considered but as a single man.
234. *dismayed forces*, heavy or awkward strength.
235. *laws of justice*, laws and justice.
235. *assure and offend not*, strengthen, not offend.

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235. *Publius Rutilius, Consul*, A; *Publius Consus*, B and C.
236. Before "he supposed" add "alone."
236. No full stop is needed between "themselves" and "Me thinks."
236. *in their fence schooles*: not in M.
236. *his cloake, i.e.*, his warlike clothing.
237. *have no affinitie with it*, do not contribute to it.
238. *to make his partie good, or*: not in M.
238. *al their children whom, i.e.*, all the children of those.
239. *Which Poris perceiving*, As they approached, Poris.
239. *enraged*, A and B; engaged, C.
240. *wittingly, unwittingly, without thinking*; "sans y penser," M.
241. *which is a membrane . . . stomacke*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
243. line 4. *his* = his nature.
245. *bearc my charges, i.e.*, pay my expenses.
245. last line. No full stop is needed between "immortality" and "Not."
246. No full stop is needed between "dislodging" and "Of assurance," nor between "Philosophy" and "Hee undertooke."
246. *of constancy*, of firm constancy.
246. *whoever*, he also.
247. *prankes . . . truth*, in truth but parts [= traits].
247. *an indifferent and defective man*, a man imperfect and defective in general.
248. *from cartes*, from the shock of carts.
248. *The reason is this*, Thus it was.
250. *But the Indian . . . noting*, It is quite another thing with Indian wives.
251. *the new discovered East Indiaes*, these oriental nations.
253. *or wise-men*: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
255. *two battels between . . . ready to be joyned together*, two armies of . . . ready to join issue.
259. *pasce single*, be simply related (*i.e.*, without comment).
259. After "out againe" add "without swallowing."
260. *where they should be, are*: not in M.
261. *which*, A; omitted in B and C.
261. line 1. After "unto" add "and hold upon."
265. *drums*. The quotation ends here.

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268. After "returning" add "alone."
270. *marke*, mask.
270. *goest into it*. The speech of Diogenes ends with these words.
271. *and shide*, and continue to chide.
272. *such as cannot do withall*, *i.e.*, such as cannot even hear him.
273. *expects*, A and B; *respects*, C.
275. *his capacitie such*, his capacity to be close to his (= Seneca's).
275. *his intention*: his = the book's.
277. *most*, A; *more*, B and C.
277. After "garment" add "until he died."
281. Before "threats or stripes" add "correction of."
282. line 2. After "fained" add "what wretched stupidity!"
282. *judgement of his consultation*, consultation of his judgment.
282. *those give*, *i.e.*, the ancient ones of whom M. has spoken above.—*A. Duval*.
286. After "for this purpose" add "was a material woven of horse-hair."
287. *haire clothes . . . poore*. In M. a play upon "haire" (= hair-shirts) and "heres" (= feeble, weak creatures).—*E. Johanneau*.
287. After "haire of his body" add "pulled out and himself."
288. *was divorced from her*, *i.e.*, divorced her.
292. *Hold it againe*, *i.e.*, There, take it.
292. *being accompanied*, *i.e.*, when accompanied.
293. line 4. *and he*, *i.e.*, Cæsar.
294. *under the name of Mamurra*. These words should preferably follow "against him," two lines below.
296. *like to this*, Here is one.
296. *fulvum*, A; *flavum*, B and C.
298. No semicolon is needed after "plenteousnesse": omit "being."
300. line 1. *of them*, that was rumoured in his army.
303. After "having ever" add "in his coach."
303. *penult. betweene*, against.
306. line 1. After "Cæsar was" add "mature and."
306. line 2. Before "Alexander" add "Besides this."
307. *and resolve in*, *i.e.*, but resolved upon.



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 308. *indifferent, certain.*  
 309. *all his rest . . . goeth on it, it is his last place.*  
 309. After "to provide" add "in general."  
 309. *acquired the same, acquired sufficient.*  
 310. *allow of all meanes, approve of all sorts of means.*  
 311. *of France: not in M. The explanation is F.'s.*  
 312. (*whereof ten went to a Legion*): not in M. The explanation is F.'s.  
 313. *drawne . . . into consequence, i.e., resulted in,*  
 314. *disease, decease, death.*  
 315. *draw life into consequence, i.e., be imitated.*  
 316. *from all torments, from such torments.*  
 317. line 1. After "fast bound" add "and tied."  
 318. *And so hoised sailes: not in M.*  
 318. After "followed him" add "in this way."  
 318. *unheedily spoile her selfe, i.e., thoughtlessly throw herself away.*  
 319. After "one day" add "amongst others."  
 320. *in his owne naturall, i.e., in itself.*  
 320. *grieving . . . husband, grieving at them that she was their adviser and promoter, but having done this high and courageous deed for the sole advantage of her husband. [A full stop is needed at "death," three lines below.]*  
 322. No new paragraph is needed after "company."  
 324. *amongst the better sort of men, as Oracles, amongst men.*  
 324. *unwitting to, A (= unknown to); by unwriting unto, B; by unwrithing, C.*  
 325. Before "events" add "veritable."  
 326. *in, A and B; an, C,*  
 330. *by Plutarke where he saith, in the judgment of Plutarch.*  
 332. *toward his, i.e., toward his own people.*  
 332. *penult. For it is, But it is.*  
 333. After "Thebes" add "and of Persepolis."  
 333. *to lavish, too lavish.*  
 335. *penult. After "considered" add "in all their circumstances."*  
 336. *afforded, A and B; offorded, C.*  
 337. *would, A and B; wold, C.*  
 338. *marched over their bellies. A French idiom translated literally = overcome them.*

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340. After "it was that" add "in truth."
341. *sickness*. The saying of Antisthenes ends here.
344. After "Capable of" add "commerce, capable of."
344. *tosse*, A and B; *toste*, C.
346. (*through which . . . bladder*): not in M. The explanation is F.'s.
348. After "I was borne" add "more than."
348. After "his third child" add "in the order of birth."
349. line 4. No brackets are needed before "let" and after "libertie," but a fresh paragraph should begin with the word "let."
349. *although they would*, even let them.
350. *concluded*, ordered to be told him.
351. *For, I have*, For, I hate.
351. After "the onely thing" add "in truth."
351. After "injurious" add "and burdensome."
352. *mee*, A and B (of mee = by me); men, C.
352. penult. After "neverthelesse" add "not"; "n'entendent pas pourtant," M.
353. *some as much . . . as*, most men more . . . than.
354. After "their Citie" add "after having tried it."
354. After "they cut off" add "for their lifetime."
354. ult. After "effect" add "after all."
355. No brackets are necessary before "as" and after "say."
355. *residence*, A; *residents*, B and C.
355. *quarrell is cleared*, i.e., combat is settled.
355. ult. *evill as well as to sickness*, sickness as well as to health.
356. *from nature*, from physic.
356. *they usurpe them in their subjects*, i.e., they [= the Physicians] take credit to themselves concerning such occasions with regard to those who have put themselves in their hands.—*Coste*.
357. *and as a mean*, by this other means.
357. After "with the assurance" add "which they give us."
358. *and whose graces*, and all whose graces.
358. After "demaunded of him" add "once more."
360. *Some Rattes*, the excrement of rats.
361. *defect*, A; *defence*, B and C.
362. *condemned*, A and B; *condemened*, C.

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365. *for it is hard . . . into it, i.e.*, for it is difficult for him to avoid often falling into it.
366. *cut off the stone, i.e.*, cut for the stone.
366. Before "his Phisitions" add "the majority of."
368. After "limited" add "and curtailed."
368. *a friend of mine*: Estienne de la Boëtie, who died of dysentery in 1563.—*Le Clerc*.
370. line 8. After "gravell" add "and sand."
373. After "wash themselves" add "at least."
373. After "particularly use" add "in general."
374. *fashion, their, A*; omitted in B and C.
375. *Sir John . . . Oake*: "Maistre Jean, ou maistre Pierre," M. "Maistre" = the title given to a lawyer.
377. *nothing so long, only half as long*.
378. *that was drawing, that itself was drawing*.
378. penult. *an hundred, fifty*.
379. top line. *with which . . . with them, and yet they triumph when it falls out well*.
380. *formall*: not in M.
381. *made our selves good sport, had singular consolation in it*.
384. *and cleane . . . sorted well*: not in M.
385. *To My Lady of Duras*: Marguerite de Gramont, widow of Jean de Durfort, Lord of Duras.—*Le Clerc*.
386. *extinguish, extend*.
386. line 4. *himselfe, A and B; himse, C*.
387. *a good Cooke, etc., i.e.*, I would rather be a good cook than a rhetorician had I not, etc.
387. *picture, A and B; pictura, C*.
388. *somewhat digressed*. The letter to the Lady of Duras ends here.
389. *is derived into me from, i.e.*, I derive from.

## INDEX OF WORDS

In the case of words of frequent occurrence the first appearance is, as a rule, the only one given.

A = Florio, 1603; B = Florio, 1613; C = Florio, 1632; M = Montaigne.

- ABCDARIAN**, a learner of the alphabet, 245.  
**A BED**, in bed, 373.  
**ACCIDENTS**, events, 182, 312, 322.  
**ACCORDED**, agreed, 255.  
**A COCKE-HORSE**, astride, 136.  
**ADDRESSETH**, directs, 60, etc.  
**ADOE**, to do, 70, 319.  
**ADVENTURE**, risk, hazard, 116.  
**ADVERTIZED**, informed, warned, 94, etc.  
**AFFECTED**, inclined, 193, 326; cared for, 298.  
**AGEWES**, agues, 376, 380.  
**A GODS**, in God's, 390.  
**ALLEAGETH**, quotes, 97, etc.  
**A LOOFE**, far, 318.  
**AMITIE**, friendship, 183.  
**AMMUSE**, entertain, employ, concern, 13, etc.  
**AND ALL**, also, 243.  
**A NEW**, afresh, 244, 363.  
**ANGELLS**, gold coins varying from 6s. 8d. to 10s. in value, 96.  
**ANNULATION**, annihilation, dissolution, 85.  
**ANSWERABLE TO**, similar towards, 323.  
**ANSWERETH**, is equal to, 210.  
**ANTIENT**, ancient, 376.  
**APPARANCE**, appearance, show, 7, etc.  
**APPLAUDING**, pleasing, 140.  
**APPLICATIONS**, inclinations, bendings, 38.  
**APPRENTISAGE**, apprenticeship, 234, 236.  
**ARGOLETTIERS**, horse soldiers of comparatively mean rank, 280.  
**ARME A HORSE**, harness or saddle a horse, 149.  
**ARMORIES**, coats-of-arms, 30.  
**ASSAID**, tried, 56, etc.  
**ASSAYES**, "at al a.," at all points, 277.  
**ATARAXY**, perfect tranquillity, 38.  
**AUDITORIES**, audience's, 70, 149.  
**AUGURES**, omens, 31.  
**A VIE**, to the heart's content, 48, 70.  
**AWEFULLY**, reverentially, 375.  
**BALD-RIMERS**, unadorned rhymsters, 137.  
**BANDV**, toss to and fro, a tennis term, 273, 331.  
**BANE**, poisonous, 72.  
**BANKET**, banquet, 239, 251.  
**BARICADES**, padded out and spreading clothes (? barrel-like), 102.  
**BARKE**, skin, rind, 130.  
**BARRIERS**, "the railles, or lists within which, a Tilting, Turnay, etc. or single combate is to be performed" (*Cotgrave*), 235.  
**BEARES**, litters, 211.  
**BEARETH**, urges, 33; maintains, will have it, 232.  
**BELIEVE HIM**, give him credit for, 348, ult.  
**BEMOTLED**, spotted, 377.  
**BESTEAD**, served, 303.  
**BEWRAY**, betray, reveal, 233.  
**BIES**, turnings away, follies, 288.

- BILLETS**, logs, 252.  
**BLANDISH**, cajole, 202.  
**BLASONER**, one who discourses at large, 203.  
**BLATED**, harmed, 376.  
**BLAZONED**, notable, talked about, 116.  
**BLINDING BORD**, blinkers, 2.  
**BLOODY FLUX**, dysentery, 368.  
**BLUBBERED**, swollen with weeping, 315.  
**BLUR-PAPERS**, authors, 276.  
**BO-BO-BOE** (*Bikere*, M.), a term of encouragement towards horses, 355.  
**BOOT-HALING**, pillaging, dragging in booty, 268.  
**BOOTLES**, bootless, useless, 45, 229; "what boote," what good is it, 168.  
**BOWLES**, balls, 377, 378.  
**BREATHIE**, windy, 119.  
**BRUITES**, noises, 119.  
**BRUNT**, onset, attack, 228, 306.  
**BUBLED TOYES**, empty toys, trifles, 185.  
**BUCKLE**, attack, 104.  
**BURGLAYER**, burglar, 105.  
**BURRE**, the ring of iron on a spear behind the handle, 348.  
**BUSIE** (verb), 52.  
**BUTS**, targets, marks, 58, 118, 235.  
**BYASE**, **BIASE**, inclination, tendency, a term in bowls, 13, 34, 46.  
**CABICHES**, cabbages, 32.  
**CADENCES AND BREAKINGS**, method and brevity, 143.  
**CALED**, called, 254.  
**CAPITAL**, liable to the death penalty, 40, 42.  
**CAPPINGS**, taking off the hat to people, 133, 147.  
**CARDES**, implements for combing fibres of wool, etc., 242.  
**CARRIIE**, career (originally, running a charge, a tournament term), 93, 350.  
**CARRIAGE**, bearing, 343.  
**CASSIERED**, cashiered, 302.  
**CATES**, dainties, delicacies, 167.  
**CENSURETH**, or preferably, is weary of, is burdened with, 149.  
**CENTENIERS**, centurions, 311.  
**CHAFING**, fretting, 264, 268.  
**CHAMPIAN**, flat, open, 58.  
**CHARGE**, expense, 2, etc.; office, employment, 37, etc.; order, 161.  
**CHARGED**, burdened, 327.  
**CHEAPE**, "better c.," cheaper, 272.  
**CHECKE**, examine, ascertain (preferably, shake; *chocke*, M.), 264.  
**CHEEKE BY JOLL**, cheek by cheek, *i.e.*, closely, 157.  
**CHOPT**, chapped, 8.  
**CHUFF-PENNY**, miserly, sour, grim, 11.  
**CIMITARY**, scimitar, 241.  
**CLARKE**, registrar, 125; scholars, 142, 149.  
**CLOWING**, fondling, 50, 315.  
**CLOAKETH**, excuses, 277, 341.  
**COARSE**, corpse, 374.  
**COG**, trick, 70.  
**COLEWORTS**, cabbages, 44, 363.  
**COLLED**, clasped round the neck, 322.  
**COLOUR**, pretence, 192, 204, 300.  
**COMBUSTION**, tumult, 314.  
**COMELINESS**, force, strength (*poide*, M.), 174.  
**COMMENDATION**, recommendation, 144, etc.  
**COMMERCE AND LONG CONVERSATION**, intercourse, 339.  
**COMMIXTURE**, mixture, 145, 201.  
**COMMODITIES**, advantages, 29, etc.  
**COMPENDIOUS**, sinewy (*nerveux*, M.), 144.  
**COMPLEXION**, nature, 20, etc.  
**COMPOSITION**, mixture, 198; agreement, bargain, 206, 364; writings, 266.  
**CONCEIT**, belief, idea, 16, etc.  
**CONCEIVE**, believe, 57.  
**CONCITATION**, excitement, emotion, 263.  
**CONCOCTED**, digested, 206, 370.  
**CONDITION**, bargain, 95, 273.  
**CONDITIONS**, qualities, 133, 149.  
**CONDUITS**, channel, 259.  
**CONGES**, leave-takings, 133.  
**CONICATCHT**, deceived (cunny=rabbit), 88.  
**CONSCIENCE**, "made so great a c.," objected so much, 32; "make c.," object, 263; "make no c.," scruple not, 158.  
**CONSEQUENCE**, "by c.," consequently, 13, 74, 83.

- CONSERVATION**, preservation, 204.  
**CONSTANTLY**, bravely, 217.  
**CONTESTATIONS**, contests, 37, 360.  
**CONTRARY**, contradict, 22, 41.  
**CONTROULED**, examined, observed, 247.  
**CONTROVERSIED**, controverted, 8.  
**CONVENIENT**, suitable, 323.  
**CONVENTICLES**, cabals, secret meetings, 294.  
**CORDIALLY**, heart-strengthening, 343.  
**CORPS**, body, 326.  
**COSIN-GERMANE**, akin, 38, 378.  
**COUNTERPOIZE**, balance, equality, 103, etc.  
**COUZENED**, deceived, 10, etc.  
**COVERT-BARON**, "under c.-b." under shelter, into safety, 154.  
**COYLE**, bustle, confusion, 70.  
**CRACKES**, talks, 86.  
**CROMPT**, crooked, 222.  
**CROWES TO PUL**, causes of dissension, 238.  
**CRUYSADA**, Crusade, 242.  
**CULL OUT**, gather, 347.  
**CUNNE**, ? tunne (*Jaire cover*, M.): "to tunne, or put into a fat or tub; to season, let worke, or stand in, a vat, or tub" (*Cotgrave*), 167.  
**CUNNING**, learned, clever, 143, etc.  
**CUPPING GLASSES**, glasses used in bleeding, 373.  
**CURE**, attend to, look into (*panser*, M.), 224.  
**CURIOSLY**, carefully, 44, etc.  
**CURRENTNESSE**, credit, 183.  
**DAINED**, deigned, 363, 381.  
**DAMASKED**, ornamented, variegated, 44.  
**DAMNED**, condemned, 206.  
**DANDLED**, amused, 190.  
**DANTED**, daunted, 303.  
**DAUGHTER IN ALLIANCE**, adopted daughter, 182.  
**DECLINATIONS**, deviations, variations, 84.  
**DECREPITY**, decrepitude, 245.  
**DEFLUXIONS**, discharges of humours, 354.  
**DEMISSINES**, weakness, cowardice, 18, etc.  
**DENOUNCE**, signify, declare, 320.  
**DERIVED**, diverted, 214.  
**DESPERATE**, in a bad condition, or preferably, inflamed, 357.  
**DESPITE**, spite, 297.  
**DESQUINE**, "the knotty, and medicinal root of a certain *Indian Bull-rush*" (*Cotgrave*), 363.  
**DESTEMPERED**, troubled, 376.  
**DEVOIRE**, duty, 39, 117, 386.  
**DISCOURSES**, judgment, reasons, 13, etc.  
**DISCOVERED**, decried, condemned, 121, 361.  
**DISPOILE**, put off, 248.  
**DOCCIE**, douches, 373.  
**DOCUMENTS**, lessons, precepts, 266.  
**DOMAGEABLE**, hurtful, 236.  
**DOMBE**, dumb, 387.  
**DOMIFICATIONS**: in astrology, the division of the heavens into twelve houses, for the purpose of deciding upon fortunes at the hour of birth, 3.  
**DONGUE**, dung, 360.  
**DOUBT**, "why make we not a d.," why do we not question, 72.  
**DRAUGHTS**, outlines (*traicts*, M.), 166.  
**DRENCHES**, draughts of physic, 381.  
**DUTCH**, German, 143.  
**DYSPATHIE**, aversion, 351.  
**EARST**, ERST, formerly, 23, 40, 45.  
**EFFECT**, "by e.," in the end, 180.  
**EFTSOONES**, afterwards, 34.  
**EMPAIRED**, depreciated, alloyed, 198.  
**EMPAIRING**, injury, 335, 368, 376.  
**EMPEACHETH**, hinders, 271, 300.  
**EMPERIKES**, early professors of medicine who based their treatment upon observation and experiment; a term used later to signify uneducated pretenders to medical knowledge, 362, 376.  
**EMPOISONETH**, poisons, 109, 290.  
**ENABLE**, endue, strengthen, 44.  
**ENAMMELL**, ornament, 188.  
**ENDEARED**, increased in value, 99, etc.  
**ENDENIZON**, make a home, 376.  
**ENDITED**, dictated, 303.  
**ENDURE**, wait, 286.  
**ENFROFED**, established, 182.

- ENFRANCHIZE, free, give freedom to, 40.
- ENGENDRED, created, 21, 43, 273.
- ENGINs, instruments, racks, 279.
- ENSIGNE, mark, sign, 41.
- ENSTALL, display, spread abroad, 314, 367.
- ENTER-DEVOURE, mutually devour, 1.
- ENTERESSED, INTERESSED, interested, 16, 218, 271.
- ENTER-KNOW, mutually know, 190.
- ENTERPRISED, attempted, 20, etc.
- ENTERSUCK'T, mutually sucked, 225.
- ENTERTAINNE, maintain, 106.
- ENTREATED, treated, 36.
- ENURED, accustomed, 194, etc.
- ENVIE, odium, 242.
- EPHEMERIDES, daily positions of the planets, 363.
- EPICICLE: in Ptolemaic astronomy, the name given to small circles whose centres described larger circles, 136.
- ESCAPES, sallies, matters, 333.
- ESCHEW, fly, avoid, 162.
- ESSAY, trial, 176, 234, 350.
- EVER, always, 287.
- EVIDENCES, title-deeds, 107.
- EXASPERATED, rendered worse, 45.
- EXEMPLAR, exemplary, 87, 297, 317.
- EXPERIMENTS, experiences, 352, 384.
- EXSICCATING, drying up, 382.
- EXTENTION, extent, 140.
- FACILE, easy, 12.
- FACTORS, agents, captains, 205.
- FADGE, succeed, please, 150, 387.
- FAINE, "would f.," would like to, 232, 265.
- FAINING, pretending, 158, etc.
- FAIRE, slowly, 241.
- FAMILIARS, domestics, servants, 94.
- FANATICALL, fantastical, 359.
- FARRE FORTH, far, 177, 178, 359.
- FATUM, fate, destiny, 253.
- FELL, fierce, savage, 281.
- FERRET, dislodge, 116.
- FIERCENESSE, haughtiness, pride, 133, 160, 337.
- FINDETH, keeps, nourishes, 330.
- FISH-FRY, young fish, 186.
- FITS, impulses, 246.
- FLAWED, cracked, marked, 312.
- FLEAD, flayed, 241.
- FLESH, invigorate, 227.
- FLOUTING, scoffing, 168.
- FLUENT, flowing, 83.
- FLURT, soon, make fingers at, 230.
- FLUX AND REFLUX, ebbing and flowing, 136.
- FLUXIES, discharges, 355.
- FOND, foolish, 29, etc.
- FOND-HARDY, foolhardy, 1, etc.
- FOORD, current, 21.
- FORCE, overcome, 351; "in f.," at its height, 215; "of f.," assuredly, 257.
- FORE-APPREHENDED, foreseen, 341.
- FORE-FEELING, foreseeing, 245.
- FOREPAST, anticipated, 346.
- FORE-SLOWING, impediment, 266.
- FORGETH, makes, 13, 128, 199.
- FORGOE, lose, hurt, 130, 165, 317.
- FORME, "sitting in her f.," squatting on her seat or bed, 255.
- FOR-RIGHT (*vis-à-vis*, M.), straight-forward, 175.
- FORSAKE, abandon, yield, 367.
- FOWLE, FOWLEE, foul, more ugly, 70.
- FRAMETH, "he f.," he is discussing, setting forth, 146.
- FRAUGHTED WITH, full of, weighted with, 337, 389.
- FREE, open for, 240.
- FREQUENCE, commerce, 350.
- FRIZLE, curl, 187.
- FROST-SHOD, rough-shod, 91.
- FUDE, feud, 178.
- GAILLARDISE, forwardness, indiscretion, 214.
- GAINESAY, contradict, 274, 300.
- GAINSTAND, withstand, 296.
- GARBAGE, entrails, 377.
- GAULETH, galls, 99.
- GESTES, deeds, 334.
- GIBRISH, jargon, rubbish, 141.
- GINNES, springs, contrivances, 13.
- GLAD, please, 141.
- GLAIVE, sword, 2, 255, 256.
- GLANCE, touch, reflection, 328.
- GLOSSE, colour, 22.
- GOE - BY - GRASSE, trailing on the ground (the verse, of course, describes a snail), 359.
- GOURMANDIZE, triumph over, 102, 230, 289.
- GREEDYRON, gridiron, 280.

- GRETTIE**, gritty, 378.  
**GROSSE**, "in g.," in bulk, as a whole, 125, etc.  
**GUIACUM**, a medicinal gum extracted from the wood of *lignum-vitæ*, *Guaiacum officinale*, 363.  
**GUTTES**, entrails, 120.
- HABILLIMENTS**, clothes, 32.  
**HALED**, dragged, 209, 356.  
**HAND-WHILE**, "every h.," *i.e.*, continually, at short intervals, 165, 361.  
**HAPPE**, hap, fortune, 91, etc.  
**HAPPILY**, haply, 15, etc.  
**HARDLY**, boldly, 5, 127, 131, 343, 386; barely, 6, 13, 14, 30.  
**HAUGHTY**, high, noble, 307.  
**HEART**, courage, 234.  
**HEART ENFLAMING**, shining, radiant, 333.  
**HEEDILY**, carefully, 163.  
**HETEROCLITE**, extraordinary, deviating from the common, 28.  
**HEW**, hue, 33, 364.  
**HIS**, a popular though false form of the genitive, 25, etc. (*Cf.*, by analogy, "Venus her mysteries," 48.)  
**HITHER-COUNTRIES**, provinces near us, 143.  
**HOE**, "no h. with him," no calling out would make him stop, 100.  
**HOISED**, hoisted, 239, 318.  
**HOLDFASTS**, grasp, 8, etc.  
**HONOUR**, fear, awe (*horreur*, M.), 47.  
**HOTCHPOT**, medley, 367.  
**HUDLED**, collected (not necessarily in a confused manner), 165, 199, 339.  
**HUDWINK'T**, blindfolded, 222.  
**HULL**, drift aimlessly, 7.  
**HURLY-BURLY**, clamour, 115, 310.  
**HURRING**, roaring, 269.  
**HUSBANDS**, managers, 202.
- IMMURE**, enclose, 309.  
**IMPASSIBLE**, incapable of passion, 246.  
**IMPETUOUS**, pitiless (*impitieux*, M.), 355.  
**IMPORT**, concern, 60, 166.  
**IMPORTING**, "little i.," unimportant, 116.  
**IMPOSTUMES**, abscesses, 376.  
**IMPRESSES**, "an *impress* is a device in picture with his motto or word borne by noble or learned personages" (*Camden*), 76.
- IMPRESSION**, pressure, 17.  
**IMPULSION**, impulse, 96, 273.  
**IMPUTATION**, reproach, 99, etc.  
**INCITATION**, stimulant, 256.  
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